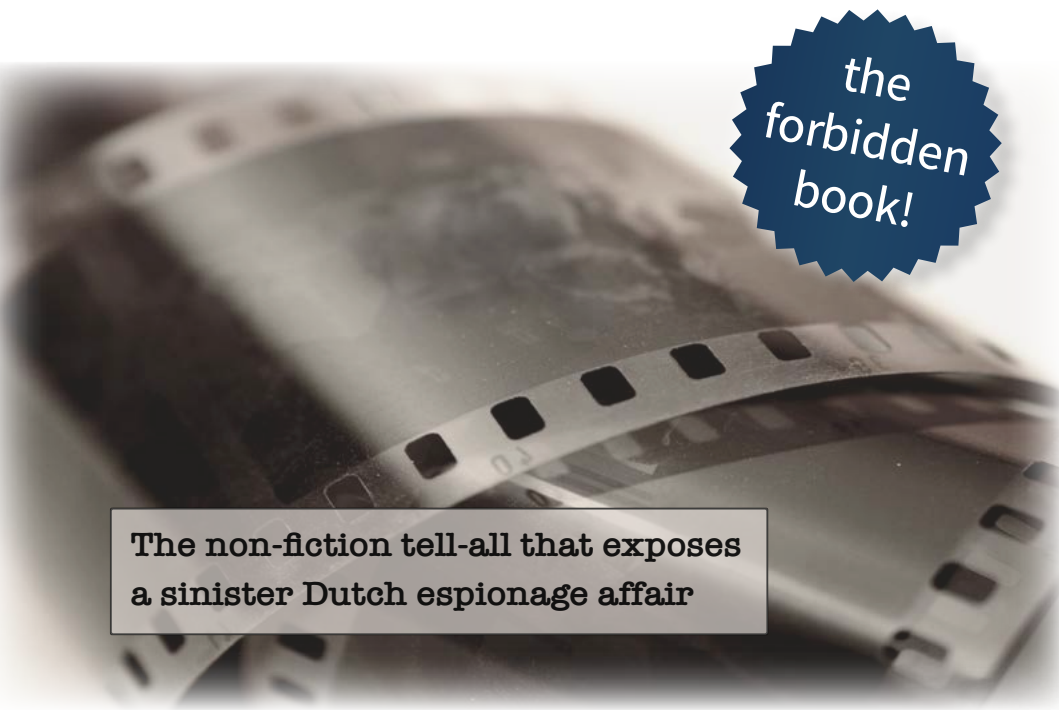
THE COVER-UP GENERAL

Edwin Giltay



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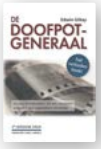

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Photo on front page	stock photo, not the camera roll in this book
Cover design & layout	Edwin Giltay
Editor (Dutch)	Mark Baker
Editor (English)	Michael Wynne, wynnemi@tcd.ie
Translator of Russian synopsis	Yurri Shynkarenko, shynkarenkoyuriy@gmail.com
Translator of German synopsis	Dr. vet. med. Mareike Kraatz, Mareike.Kraatz@gmail.com
Translator of Russian synopsis	Milan Petrović, milance.petrovic@gmail.com
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In memory of my late grandfather Frans Erkelens,
Colonel, court martial member

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Introduction

In 1998 I worked at cable television provider Casema in Delft as a help-desk employee. While employed there I became unwittingly involved in government intrigue: a power struggle within Dutch military intelligence was fought out on the company floor. *The Cover-up General* reports on this and follows the ongoing developments in this unsettling affair.

This spy thriller is an autobiography describing my experiences with secret services. I also explain the background to what happened to me. In doing so, however, I did not want to make this affair any bigger or more political than it is. While it is true that domestic and foreign media repeatedly call *The Cover-up General* a 'Srebrenica book,' this designation gives a somewhat distorted picture. It describes an affair that takes place in the Dutch lowlands and focuses only in part on the withholding of an infamous photographic film of the fall of Srebrenica.

While no details of the actual story are invented, some people have been given a different name to protect their privacy. For example, the names of unsuspecting citizens working at Casema, who encountered a genuine spies' battle being fought over their heads, have been anonymized.

The text has been updated. Following the first Dutch edition, chapters have been added explaining new developments. In addition, when the second edition went out of print I rewrote a number of passages for reasons of improved clarity. In the third Dutch edition – of which you are now reading the English translation – some paragraphs on side issues have been deleted and others added. Thus, I have put to paper what it was like to be targeted by the State of the Netherlands. Although emptying this goblet of poison was painful at the time, it is liberating to give it a place now (pages 99–103).

As a citizen, it is not easy to defend oneself against a state apparatus. However, support from politicians, journalists and academics makes it more burdensome to disrupt a citizen's life without repercussions. To gather this support the editors of this book worked diligently. And with success – even before publication, this book received the blessing of prominent figures.

The reader may not have failed to notice the many endorsements in this book. These are broadly presented here less for the sake of aggrandizement than out of a consideration for, as it were, a shielding legitimacy: as the author of a spy exposé, it is – unfortunately – necessary for me to have a ring of protection.

On page 218 one will find the notes section containing references to correspondence, reports, parliamentary and legal documents, newspaper articles, etc. In addition, there are two Word files that form the basis of this book: the first is a document with painstaking notes prepared when I applied to join the armed forces in 1998. When ultimately confronted with military intelligence machinations at Casema, I subsequently recorded my observations in a journal that likewise details the plot twists in this saga.

I did not rush the writing of *The Cover-up General*. Many friends and associates assisted in bringing this sensitive affair into the limelight, in a diligent and responsible manner.

Thus, I thank Dutch journalists Mark Baker and Arnoud van Soest for their editorial help, as well as news photographer John Melskens for the author's portrait taken at the Dutch Ministry of Defence in The Hague. This international edition of *The Cover-up General* would not have seen the light of day without the editorial help of Irish philosopher Michael Wynne. He has spent many late nights correcting my English on his laptop – thank you, Mike!

The synopsis of this book can be found on page 268, followed by synopses in Russian, German, Dutch and Serbo-Croat-Bosnian, I would like to thank the freelance translators of the summaries for their conscientious work: Yurri Shynkarenko (English to Russian), Mareike Kraatz (English to German) and Milan Petrović (English to Bosnian).

In addition, I am grateful to Tom Mikkers, Metje Blaak, Harry

van Bommel, Jeroen Stam and Christ Klep for their advice. Valuable support also came from Bosnia veterans Colonel Charlef Brantz and Derk Zwaan, Balkan activists Caspar ten Dam, Jolies Heij, Dzevad Kurić and Jehanne van Woerkom, Srebrenica lawyers Marco Gerritsen and Simon van der Sluijs, as well as my late Uncle Frans Erkelens Jr. and his impresario Ian Knoop.

I am also indebted to my lawyer Jurian van Groenendaal. After this book became the subject of lawsuits in 2015, he prevented it from being covered up forever.

Related news videos and background articles can be found on the website thecoverupgeneral.com.

— Edwin Giltay,
The Hague, Netherlands, 2024

Part One

1997 – 2014

‘Every person remembers some moment in their life where they witnessed some injustice, big or small, and looked away because the consequences of intervening seemed too intimidating. But there’s a limit to the amount of incivility and inequality and inhumanity that each individual can tolerate.’

— Edward Snowden

CHAPTER 1

Character

December 1997, I spot a recruitment advertisement for an officer's position in the Dutch Marine Corps, the elite corps of the Royal Netherlands Navy. Armed marines are depicted, above the slogan, 'The Navy, not that bad an idea'. The athletic challenge of this combat unit is appealing. Just like my grandfather Frans Erkelens, I aspire to serve my country as a military officer.

Several months later, on 3 April 1998, I attend an information meeting at Amsterdam's Naval Barracks.[1] Lieutenant Commander Hamaken explains at the barracks what the job entails. He does not forget to add that a soldier risks giving his life for his country – a dramatic turn of phrase, yet he chuckles at his own remarks. Nevertheless, he emphasises we should keep this in mind before applying.

The question whether I would be willing to lay down my life for my country, takes me by surprise. At 27 years old I have not contemplated this yet. So far, I have been working mainly as a Dutch technical writer, not a profession in which you put yourself in jeopardy. I take notes during the lecture, something I am used to, so I can refresh my memory later on.

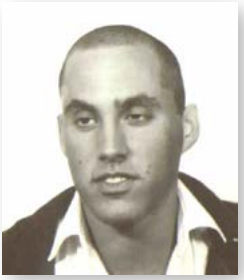
When Lieutenant Commander Hamaken notices this, he stops laughing. His tone turns serious and referring to the peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia, he tells us that in extreme cases a soldier on duty can die.

'Have you taken all that down accurately, Mister Giltay?' The officer addresses me firmly. 'Yes,' I reply calmly; 'I am writing it down as I consider what you are saying to be important.' It certainly is, judging by my grandfather's experiences. As a prisoner of war, he was tortured; in vain the Japanese army tried to break him.

He had been deployed as a forced labourer in the construction of the Burma Railway,[2] a war crime claiming the lives of nearly three thousand Dutch soldiers.

Back home, I reflect profoundly on the ultimate consequence of being sent on a military mission. On the Ministry of Defence's website, I read that the armed forces are tasked with defending our freedom and democracy, as well as advancing the international rule of law. Justice is not a given, as evidenced by the world war terrors my family had to endure, and which Queen Wilhelmina also outlined in a personal letter of condolence to Grandpa in 1947.[3] The deployment of the Dutch Armed Forces appeals to me. I decide to apply in order to undertake these duties, whatever the consequences may be.

I fill in an application form, which comes with several attachments. As requested, I enclose a passport photograph. I also need to sign up front to swear allegiance to the Queen, obey the laws and submit myself to military discipline. And I have not even been admitted to the ranks. Still, I sign the allegiance, so help me God Almighty.[4]



Passport photo

Meanwhile, I have taken up a new temp job. On 8 June, I will commence at cable operator Casema, which offers cable TV, telephone and internet services.[5] As a telephone helpdesk assistant in the Telesales department, I speak with potential customers interested in internet access, and arrange appointments in case technicians are required to make house calls.

The department is located on the fifth floor of Casema headquarters on the outskirts of the historic town of Delft. I work from Monday to Friday, from six to ten PM. The atmosphere is pleasant, I get along well with everyone, and the pay allows me to make ends meet. Evening

hours pay overtime, so I receive a 30-hour salary for a 20-hour job. It's perfect for me – I can work out all afternoon.

On 11 June, I check in at the Amsterdam Navy Barracks for the psychological assessment of my suitability as an aspiring marine officer.[6] Ms P. Strijbosch explains to me that only information I provide myself will be used. She also guarantees that it will be treated confidentially. That sounds fair and square, but during the interview it becomes clear she herself does not adhere to this notion. She raises a few questions indicating that she has knowledge of my personal antecedents. This is rather surprising, as I have not yet given permission to be screened by Military Intelligence. Yet despite my dismay, I keep quiet about it.

Among other things, Strijbosch asks about my current job. I tell her I started working as a helpdesk assistant in Casema's internet department, much to my delight. It strikes me that the military psychologist is taking notes most decisively, even jotting down information on the company. To ease tensions, I jest: 'Would you perhaps like to come and work at my place?' Strijbosch smiles and goes on taking notes.

In the afternoon, I am called in for the results. A colleague of Strijbosch, Mr P. van der Pol, accompanies me to a room. He comes right to the point. He thinks I am unfit to become a marine officer because – and here is the zinger – my character is supposedly 'too strong'. Marine Corps drill instructors would be 'unable to break me'. He thinks my character is 'too well developed' and my broad work and life experience is commendable.

Not only does the recruitment psychologist put a remarkably positive spin on me being rejected, but he also surprises me by bringing up a private matter. Although I did not disclose my sexual orientation, he tells me that while training Marine Corps officers, the Navy has had bad experiences with 'guys like me'. The psychologist explains that in the Marines, homosexuals are not considered to be one of the boys. As a result, virtually no gay candidates reach the end of the training course. Although Van der Pol knows one gay man who indeed finished the training course, he

felt compelled to leave eventually, having been isolated for a year.

Obviously, homosexuality cannot be used as a reason for rejecting recruits. However, that does not remove the problem of gays not being accepted by the Corps. The psychologist lets on he is not happy with the selection procedure either. He has raised objections regularly, but his superiors never budged: 'Nothing ever changes.'

But how does the director of Recruitment & Selection view this? Van der Pol replies that the latter barely knows what is going on. The psychologist does not think highly of the servicemen working at the naval barracks. 'Softies' they are, posted here because they are unfit to sail.

Being rejected on the grounds that 'my character is too strong', seems a feeble excuse to me. An elite force refusing recruits deemed too strong for warrant officers to handle, is, I think, simply ridiculous. As I tell Van der Pol I will be lodging a formal complaint on the matter, sure enough he appears to appreciate my decision. Without my asking, he gives me a piece of advice: the military is wary of negative publicity – such is to be avoided. Therefore, I should express myself thoughtfully. Van der Pol points out that I am intelligent yet modest. I do not impose myself and put group interests first. These specifics go down well with the Corps.

The next day, I visit my maternal Uncle Frans Erkelens Jr. in his studio in The Hague. Frans is a celebrated painter.[7] Princess Irene, for instance, is an admirer of his,[8] and Queen Mother Juliana opened an exhibition of his work in Amsterdam's *Nieuwe Kerk* ('New Church') in 1981.[9] My uncle would immerse himself in a subject for a while to create a series of paintings about it. Over the years, he drew inspiration from varied themes such as the Battle of Arnhem, the Great Pyramid of Giza and its Sphinx, as well as the Javanese goddess-queen of the South Sea.

Once I explain I was rejected by the Netherlands Marine Corps on the grounds of my character being too strong to be broken, Frans starts laughing. In his opinion, I should be happy with the assessment. Had I not applied to prove my manhood? If anything,

is being considered 'too strong' not a generous acknowledgement in this particular area?

In jest, he adds that the Armed Forces apparently realise that with my tough appearance they are facing too great a challenge. In essence, I am thought to be no match for ranking officers. His reasoning: perhaps I have been discussed secretly, by generals who reckoned they were not in my league. Much to their dismay, of course.

My uncle's absurd appraisal of the situation makes me laugh. Then again, it does not alleviate my disappointment. I regard it my calling to follow in my grandfather's footsteps. According to my family, I resemble him a lot. Yet, as Frans Erkelens Sr. died before I was born, I only know of him through stories and photographs. Actually, I know very little about my grandfather. He was a member of the Dutch East Indies court martial,[10] and climbed to the rank of colonel,[11] though he never did talk about his job all that much.

When I relate that I want to serve my country like Grandpa, Frans gets serious again. He tells me that as a conscript he received preferential treatment – having been employed as a writer in Naval Intelligence, thanks to the reputation of his dad: my grandfather.

My uncle also points out we are descendants of Toontje Poland, a hero of the colonial Java War. The Dutch vanquished Islamic warrior-prince Diponegoro in 1830, after luring him into bogus negotiations. Poland's 'acts of excellent bravery' were rewarded with the Military Order of William[12] – the highest military honour the Kingdom can bestow. During the war, two-hundred thousand Muslims were slaughtered.

Jokingly, Frans advises I convey to the Defence Ministry that I wish to continue a proud family tradition. 'Maybe then they will employ you. Although they might then offer you a completely different job.'

CHAPTER 2

Defence women

Meanwhile, I enjoy working at Casema's Telesales department. The evening workload is light and the office culture informal. I have young colleagues and as the work is fairly simple, there is room to chat with each other in between calls.

Besides my temp agency Randstad Callflex, there is a second agency that dispatches flex workers in our department. That competitor is called Teleprofs and is cheaper.

On 3 July, our manager Anna at Casema offers me permanent employment, as this is cheaper for the company than me working through the temp agency. I appreciate this kind offer, yet I decline, as my ambitions do not lie with Casema.

Meanwhile, two new women have joined Telesales, both temporary workers from Teleprofs. My colleague Julia knows of my interest in the Armed Forces and informs me about the peculiar background of one of them. She looks me straight in the eye as she tells me that this flex worker's name is Monica and this woman is also employed by the Military Intelligence Service. I cannot believe my ears. Yet Julia surely pronounces the name of this secret service very precisely.

The background of our new colleague is surprising. Why would someone from an intelligence agency come and work for us? My astonishment increases when Julia adds that Monica, who is rostered during daytime hours, is eager to meet me. She would have already inquired about me.

Teleprofs' second new temp is a taciturn woman, estimated to be nearly fifty. She is to work in our department for five weeks, Monday through Friday from five to ten PM. When I see her at first,

she tries to ignore me. I introduce myself and hold out my hand, but to my surprise, she refuses to accept it. When I clarify it would be nice to know her as we work in the same department, the woman looks unpleasantly surprised by this information. With obvious reluctance, she eventually shakes my hand and mentions only her first name: Ina.

She looks like the motherly type. Cautiously, I ask her whether her husband doesn't mind her not being home in the evenings. To that she snarls: 'He thinks of that in a completely different way.'

Later, when chatting with a colleague at work, Ina tells how she loves gardening and has a huge garden in Egmond aan den Hoef. Having never heard of her hometown, I ask her where it is. It turns out to be a village all the way near Alkmaar. Isn't it a nuisance having to commute to Delft every day for just several hours of work? With a stutter, Ina says she is staying the nights in The Hague for her job. Where might that be? At her aunt's, she stammers.

Ina is not very approachable. For instance, she refuses my help when she is at odds with her computer. Moreover, to create distance, she stresses to me her seniority. Out of respect for her age, I am more than willing to address her as 'Mrs', but since she won't say her surname, it becomes difficult to address her in a correct manner. I try a few times saying 'Mrs Ina', but I cease doing so since everyone simply calls her by her first name.

By the way, there is something odd about that first name. When Ina is addressed by colleagues on the work floor, it strikes me that she does not always respond. After this has happened a few times, I ask her if Ina is indeed her real name. She is startled by my question. She answers 'Yes', while stuttering violently.

Later, my colleague Angela asks me if it is true that I applied for a job in the Navy. When I confirm this, she tells me that she heard from Ina that her husband also works there. Both new temps therefore turn out to be Defence women, which is remarkable.

Once I have a moment alone with Ina, I ask her what her husband does for a living. After all, I am curious about her mysterious background. I may have put my question to Ina somewhat out of the ordinary, by the way. Maybe it is my intuition. Or is it clumsy

once I ask her what her husband does 'at the MoD in The Hague'?

She is shocked by my words. Instead of replying, she asks with an apprehensive look how I figured out her husband's profession. That is a surprising response because it confirms that her husband works at the Ministry of Defence (MoD) in The Hague, where mainly senior staff officers are based. Hereupon I decide to increase the tension a little by remarking dryly that I have connections.

I have to laugh a little at Ina's reaction, but soon I notice that she is shocked more than I had anticipated. I then try to calm her down by explaining that she herself had revealed her husband's occupation to Angela. Still, I fail to calm her down: she is too horrified.

On another evening, Ina is talking to Angela about the opening phrase she uses on the phone. I hear Ina state vigorously that she only uses her maiden name at Casema.

Her uptight conduct never ceases to amaze me. I cannot hold back and ask her why she does not use the name of her military husband. Ina is startled once more by my directness and declines to answer. She forbids me from mentioning her husband's profession; I am supposed to keep her military relationship a secret.

When we pick up the phone at Telesales, we always mention Casema's name first and then our own. When I hear Ina answer the phone at a certain point, however, she makes a mistake. She seems to have daydreamed, forgetting for a moment that she is in a business environment. She only mentions her name. To my surprise, she doesn't say 'Ina', nor does she use her maiden name. Instead, sweetly she introduces herself as 'Mrs Van Baal'.

She is hugely embarrassed that she has divulged her identity. 'Oh, how silly of me!' she says aloud. She then apologises through her headset to her unsuspecting internet customer. Ina actually excuses herself so profusely for her slip of the tongue that it almost seems as if she has committed a true mortal sin by revealing her real name and thus her husband's surname.

'Mrs Van Baal' does not notice me observing her and laughs for a moment at her own stupidity. Then she tries to recover. In an exalted tone of voice, she mentions the name Ina. For the sake of completeness, she adds that she works at Casema, before finally

listening to her internet customer on the other end of the line.

Her slip of the tongue makes me realise that strange things take place on this work floor. My intuition tells me I should remember the name Van Baal well. Although I try to focus on my work, Ina draws more and more attention to herself with her peculiar behaviour.

Yet things are about to turn even stranger. When I turn up at the office on Wednesday 8 July – the day before I was called off due to overstaffing – supervisor Marlies strikes up a conversation. She is the informal supervisor of Telesales in Anna's absence, and she says she is worried about what happened the previous day.

To make copies in the hallway, she had left her staff badge at her workplace. However, on returning with the printouts, her badge was gone.

Marlies is stunned. Hardly able to believe it, she suspects Ina stole it. After all, Angela and Ina were the only two who had remained in the department. Angela could not have been the one because she has known her for so long. And so, the suspicion naturally falls on Ina.

A staff pass is issued at Casema only to regular employees. Temporary workers like Ina and me can therefore only enter or leave the secure premises when accompanied by a colleague with a badge.

Marlies says that her stolen card contained a consumption credit of just pennies for the snack machine in the hallway. However, she cannot imagine Ina stole her badge simply to relish a free snack. You wouldn't expect that from a middle-aged woman, right?

Apart from Ina, I also get to know our new temp Monica. She greets me warmly when I appear at the department at a quarter to six.

Monica is an attractive blonde woman. She bears a striking resemblance to Czech tennis star Martina Navrátilová. Monica wears dark-brown leather trousers, lending her a butch look. Even though she had already finished work at five o'clock in the afternoon, she continued for an hour longer on her own initiative. This in order to meet me, as she lets me know right away.

I do find it amusing that Monica, busily moving her hands while talking, shows such interest in me. Julia had not been kidding then, when she mentioned that Monica was eager to meet me. I react joyfully. Monica's initiative is in sharp contrast to the way Ina tries to ignore me.

Monica says she has already heard a lot about me and works at the 'M… I… D…'. 'She pauses briefly after each letter as if giving up a riddle. I ask Monica whether she likes working at the Military Intelligence Service (Dutch: MID), to which she expresses her appreciation for the fact that I know what those three letters stand for.

Immediately, she starts complaining about the workload and stress at the MID. To my surprise, she is in no way reluctant to criticise her employer openly. Also, she tells me that there is a lot going on at the MID about an infamous 'photo roll of Srebrenica', a subject about which I only vaguely remember hearing something in the media.

Monica explains that her boss has given her an entire week's leave from her full-time job at the MID, in order to work at Casema during the daytime. As I then point out that I only work in the evenings, she nods affirmatively and says she has already adjusted her hours. From next week, she will be in the office from six to ten PM; that will give us the same working hours.

When I got to meet Ina, I surprised her when I mentioned that we happened to work in the same department. Monica is equally surprised. She wants to hear from me why I am not working at the neighbouring Internet Helpdesk.

Reflecting on this, I think back to the interview at the Amsterdam Naval Barracks. When I answered that I was a helpdesk assistant – my job title according to Randstad Callflex – this was written down remarkably accurately. Could this be the reason for the confusion of the two Armed Forces women? Might the professed confidentiality of the psychological interview have been breached? I find this hard to believe, but do not rule it out.

When I ask Monica why she believes I work at the Internet Helpdesk, she replies that she finds that more fitting for me. We met just a few minutes ago – I remark that she certainly assesses

me very quickly. To this, Monica says with a broad smile that she has had a good impression of me for quite some time.

On another evening, I see Monica again at Casema as she is about to go home. Again, she complains in her rather loud voice about the Military Intelligence Service and the photographic film of the Srebrenica tragedy. This time it strikes me that a colleague who's sitting behind Monica is listening in attentively. It's Ina, the other Defence woman. Looking past Monica, I see Ina's jaw drop in amazement at everything she is saying. Monica doesn't notice this and tells me that I really shouldn't believe that the photo roll failed to develop. It is just stored in the archives of the MID. She also says, 'You can understand yourself why the photos have not been released.'

I barely know what she is talking about, but find it exciting that someone from an intelligence agency is informing us of real state secrets. I tell Monica I don't know. She then reveals in the presence of colleagues that the photos are damaging to the military.

Later that evening, Angela asks Ina what again is Monica's remarkable profession. Ina appears to have forgotten that, although she listened open-mouthed when Monica talked about the MID. In a weak voice, she remarks: 'Ah yes, what was that again?'

In a quasi-accusatory tone, I shout: 'She's a spy!' It's just a gag, but Ina flinches violently. When I then look her straight in the eye, for a moment it appears she feels like she's been exposed. This surprises me since I was merely joking about Monica's 'infiltration' into our firm, not Ina's.

I find it hard to believe. Why would military spies infiltrate an office department in Holland where subscriptions for cable internet are sold?

The jittery way Ina reacts makes me curious about what she is up to. At some point, I get the inkling to 'sneak up' on Ina. I decide to do this when I need to hand her a sign-up sheet anyway.

While Ina is sitting at her desk, I first walk to the window behind her with the form and a cup of tea. Ina turns around suspiciously. However, when she sees that I am just staring out the window, she

is once again put at ease. She continues what she is doing. Half a minute later, I leave the tea on the windowsill and tiptoe over to Ina. I breathe softly. Cautiously, I look over her right shoulder.

To my utter amazement, I see Ina taking notes on her Telesales colleagues. In a lined school notebook, she has written down her observations after each name. The notes are elaborate: on each colleague she filled one to several paragraphs. Her rounded handwriting is easy to read. Moreover, the structure of the notes makes it easy to comprehend them quickly. Ina uses pens with two colours. Some words she has underlined with a ruler.

First, my eye catches what she wrote down after my underlined name: she complains about my impertinent questions. One can read also that Monica laments about the Srebrenica photo roll.

As Ina flips back a page of her notebook, I stumble upon a written confession. Hastily, I read that Ina stole Marlies' access card while making copies in the hallway.

I am dumbfounded. What this is all about is beyond me.

I cannot read along for long as Ina suddenly senses that I am standing behind her. She rocks violently and bounces up from her chair. Quickly she hides her notebook beneath the other papers on her desk. I ask her if she has a secret to hide, but she does not answer. Her face turns red.

I still wish to give Ina the registration form, but she's unwilling to take it. Even when I add that it is a form from one of her clients, she refuses to accept it. Ina seems utterly confused. With a sigh, I put it down on her desk in the hope that she will later realise what Casema hired her for – to enrol internet customers.

Ina's confusion gives way to anger. Again, she issues a ban. Besides my being required to keep her military relationship secret, I am now no longer allowed to walk towards her without her first seeing me approach her. Apparently, I am to give her space secretly to describe everyone in her little notebook.

On 13 July, I take a day off. The next evening, I sit together with Monica and Ina at one joint desk. In between phone calls from customers, Monica complains that many things happen at the Military

Intelligence Service that are completely irregular. No one at the MID trusts anyone anymore.

As Monica is grumbling about the MID, she seems unaware that there is another Defence woman in the group. Actually, she tells her colleagues that she feels at ease with us. And that it is a relief for her that she can finally be herself amongst us after her daytime work at intelligence. For instance, she takes the liberty of calling her girlfriend and flattering her with sweet words.

She feels so at ease that she proposes to talk about first love experiences. From female colleagues, she likes to know what their 'first time' was like. Ina feels uncomfortable with this intimate subject; her body language indicates that she does not want to expose herself. For a moment, I consider helping Ina out. However, as Ina sometimes snarls at me, I don't interfere.

Despite her obvious reservations, Ina recounts her love story. In doing so, she soon ends up with her husband, whom she lovingly calls 'my Ad' thereby casually disclosing the first name of her military spouse – something she does not seem to realise. On the contrary, she breathes a sigh of relief that having recounted meeting Ad, she is done answering Monica's question.

Monica, who talks enthusiastically about the girlfriends she used to sneak kisses with in her school's bike shed, does not ask about my first intimate experience. Rather, she talks to me about other topics. One evening, for instance, she tells of two befriended MoD colleagues who started talking to the press. In the radio programme *Argos*, they anonymously criticised the MID's handling of the photographic film of the fall of Srebrenica. At the MID, says Monica to me, there was a lot of buzz today about these embarrassing revelations. According to her, Military Intelligence would not know how to deal with the truth.

It disappoints Monica that I don't know *Argos*. She explains that this current affairs programme is broadcast by VPRO on Radio 1. In addition, she says that with my background, I should take more interest in the upheaval over the photo roll. This remark makes me suspect that she sees in me a sounding board for her secret service work. I let her know that, like her, I am an advocate of openness.

Without my asking, Monica explains why the photo roll is being withheld. According to her, the reason is rather trivial, but in the Armed Forces, some would definitely want to prevent the photos from being published. There is fear of publication in a popular opinion magazine like *Panorama* or *Nieuwe Revu*.

And then Monica tells me she attended a secret MoD meeting on the photo roll. There, someone had insisted that the Dutch soldiers involved in the fall of Srebrenica should be protected from publication. It was necessary to prevent the boys in the photos from being recognised by their relatives and friends. It would be unpleasant for them should the photos be published in the tabloid press. At the tennis club or at the pub they might be confronted with their role in the Srebrenica tragedy.

I ask who brought this up, but Monica is not allowed to say. She only wants to reveal that it concerns a man who was invited to this intelligence meeting even though he did not belong to the MID. Monica's comments regarding the upheaval arouse my curiosity. Apparently, it has been arranged with the MID that the Dutch government could be deceived about the photo roll.

Later, I follow Monica's advice and research the fall of Srebrenica and the infamous photo roll. Thus, I learn that during the Bosnian war, the United Nations (UN) had designated the town as an enclave for Bosnian Muslims, called Bosniaks. Dutchbat, a Dutch UN army battalion, had to protect the enclave. Nevertheless, the town was captured by Bosnian Serb forces on 11 July 1995. The Dutch offered hardly any resistance to the advancing Serbs.

After the takeover, the Serbs killed more than eight thousand Bosniak men and boys. Officers responsible for their protection in the enclave included the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Netherlands Army, General Hans Couzy, and his deputy General Ad van Baal.

I ask the VPRO for a copy of the *Argos* broadcast of Friday 10 July 1998, which deals with the withheld photographic film of lieutenant Ron Rutten. The programme features General Couzy; Van Baal does not get to speak.

Argos' editors explain that the photo roll contains pictures of

murdered Bosniak men, pictures that could serve as evidence for the war crimes committed by Bosnian Serb servicemen in Srebrenica. But let *Argos* speak for itself:

> The photos were taken two days after the fall of the enclave by three Dutch UN officers: two lieutenants and one adjutant. They had gone to investigate near a stream and found nine corpses there. Lieutenant Eelco Koster was one of the three: 'I got myself to stand among these to demonstrate and say: listen, the UN has been here and we have proof of people being killed here. And with this evidence, we thus want to show the world what happened in the enclave in these days.'
>
> The three even risked their lives, Koster told TV programme *Nova* last April [April 1997]. Because immediately after they had taken the photos, they were discovered and shot at by Serbian soldiers. Still, they did manage to escape to the Dutch base and bring the roll to safety. Once back in the Netherlands in late July [1995], the roll was ruined while being developed in a Navy photo lab.

The cover-up of this photographic film for which Dutch officers risked their lives, raises questions: how does the misappropriation of such evidence of war crimes relate to the Armed Forces' duty to promote the international rule of law? The roll proves that prior to the genocide, Dutchbat was aware that the Serbs were killing Bosniaks in Srebrenica. Does the Dutch army perhaps prefer not to be confronted with this reality?

Argos offers an explanation as to why the MID covered up the photos. The radio programme says it spoke to a senior serviceman closely involved in the Srebrenica operation. To ensure his anonymity, the interview with him had been re-enacted.

In the recreated interview, the senior serviceman reveals that there were also other photos on the roll:

> Look, there are a lot of stories that have not been told. … [about] things one shouldn't have done, that are not in one's mandate.

> For example, that one thus helped the Serbs to bring displaced persons [the Bosniaks] to the bus or out of the compound [the Dutchbat barracks in the Srebrenica enclave]. Look, you can say: so at least then I am certain that these people are not beaten and robbed or whatever. But the reverse is also true, of course, because you can also say: listen guys, we are not participating in this. And what those Serbs do, that's their own responsibility.

On Casema's work floor, Monica explains that fear of publication is actually the only reason why the photos are being withheld. According to her, other issues would not play a role.

Monica sighs that she wants to leave the MID because it makes her 'totally crazy'. For the first time in all her years working at the MID, she took this side job. Although civil servants are not allowed to have a second job, Monica says she and her girlfriend can make good use of the extra income. After all, she has no savings because she spends a lot on parties and buying leather trousers.

She also tells of her own accord how she ended up at Casema. She seems to be trying to convince her new colleagues that she joined us in a normal way, as if it were not unusual for someone in the intelligence sector openly to hold a second job.

Monica reveals that she was shopping in the street Noordeinde in the city centre of The Hague. To her surprise, she saw a vacancy announced at the employment agency Teleprofs already outside.

She decided to apply immediately. Perhaps Monica had taken her CV with her when she went shopping that day, because she was able to join us right away.

Apparently, this Teleprofs branch in The Hague believes it is tasked with giving jobs in Dutch businesses to intelligence officers. During MoD working hours, mind you. Defence woman Ina, who lives in the North Holland countryside, is employed through the same agency. The travel distance between her home in Egmond aan den Hoef and Delft is almost 100 kilometres (60 miles) while Teleprofs does not reimburse travel expenses. It doesn't seem to bother Ina. On the contrary, I see her beaming when she remarks that, just like Monica, she has also managed to start working for us.

Alkmaar
Egmond aan den Hoef
North Sea
Amsterdam
Ina of Egmond aan den Hoef reports to Teleprofs in The Hague and gets a part-time job at Casema in Delft 100 kilometres from home. For her job, she stays in The Hague.
MID
Teleprofs
The Hague
Monica works full-time for the MID in The Hague and gets time off to work as well for Teleprofs at Casema in Delft.
Casema
Delft

Map of deployments

The pride with which the two Defence women talk about their 'deployment' to Delft tickles my funny bone. But when I welcome my new colleagues enthusiastically, this is not appreciated. My joke that there is certainly room for more 'spies' at Telesales is not understood. Monica and Ina are thrilled by their missions and I should not ridicule them. Their deployment is a serious matter.

CHAPTER 3

Recruitment

Encouraged by Monica's candour, at Telesales I start talking about my Navy application. Monica responds immediately – she invites me to talk about it further in the pantry of our office floor during our break.

Face to face, Monica talks endlessly about her job at the MoD. The break runs late and she asks me to bring my application papers the following day.

That next evening, we again take a break at eight o'clock. When Monica and I get up to go to the pantry, I invite Ina to join us and drink coffee together. She declines the offer, however, preferring to stay at her desk.

During the two interviews, Monica explains that she has worked in the Military Intelligence Service for more than seven years. She holds an important position and her immediate superior is a Marine Corps Colonel. To clarify that this is a high rank, she needlessly explains that this position in the military hierarchy is directly below that of general. She does have a new boss now, but basically still works for her colonel. She has been close friends with him for years, unlike her new boss with whom she does not get along.

Next, Monica indicates that her intelligence service needs enthusiastic people like me to balance out her 'flawed' colleagues. According to her, my sparkling personality would have a positive effect on the atmosphere at the MID. To emphasise her arguments, Monica refers to our brief conversations about the Srebrenica photo roll. Hadn't I told her to be an advocate of openness? Well then! As far as she is concerned, I have the right mindset to join the MID.

I cannot suppress a smile as I have to get used to her praise. However, my talkative colleague does not leave any room for my

doubts. Monica believes in me, that's clear. When she inquires about my work experience, I barely have time to talk about my career before she interrupts me. Without having told her much, she concludes that – like her – I am way too advanced for the simple work at Casema. She points to my broad work and life experience.

I have to laugh at her flattering words. When I applied for marine officer, this was also pointed out. Where at the time it was an excuse for rejection, now it suddenly makes me fit for an intelligence job. All a bit confusing.

Monica is unstoppable. She praises my analytical and writing skills, as well as my command of English (as a Dutch speaker). Add to that my interest in international politics and diplomacy, and you have an assortment of qualities which the MID can put to good use. According to Monica, I am ideally suited to produce intelligence reports for the deployment of military personnel.

She cites the peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia as an example. For such operations, Personnel of the Armed Forces who are to be deployed have to be informed about the situation they will encounter before their departure. Mapping conflict parties, describing the local security situation: Monica is convinced I would be good at such tasks.

Monica cannot stop talking about the need for information on the warring factions, only to complain about the atmosphere at the MID, which has been ruined by intrigue. Almost everyone is leaving the MID; numerous vacancies cannot be filled. So, analysts are in high demand, a position for which she considers me suitable.

Monica keeps talking and before I know it, she urges me to write a cover letter to the MID. The request overwhelms me. How do I go about this? Can I use her name in the letter? Yes, I can. Monica – articulating her full name carefully – instructs me to write that, as an employee of the MID during her temp job in the corporate sector, she pointed out to me the many vacancies at the MID. The letter must be addressed to the MoD in The Hague.

Monica promises me that she will arrange with her colonel for me to work as an analyst at the MID. It pleases her that I have no holiday plans or other commitments this summer. She expresses

the hope of welcoming me as an MID colleague in the near future.

In the letter, I need to beef up my work experience and skills considerably. Above all, don't be so humble, Monica adds in her loud voice. Hence, she instructs me to mention that I have written theses on every conceivable topic I happen to be interested in. The MID doesn't check everything after all. When she came to work there, she didn't know that; but over the years she has experienced it to be so.

I am surprised that Monica has no problem with the truth being violated. Whether the chances of exposure are high or not does not matter. It troubles me that Monica thinks so lightly about falsifying facts, as if this were normal in intelligence circles.

Monica fails in recruiting me for her secret service because I have no desire to work in a toxic place. The trap of mistrust and deceit that Monica keeps bringing up when she talks about the MID does not attract me at all. Besides, I have other ambitions than sitting in an office making analyses all day. I am not a nerd. I feel good about myself and I am more attracted to physical occupations: I am up for a physical, military challenge.

When I tell Monica I was rejected by the Navy because my character was deemed too strong to be broken by the drill sergeants, she responds with immediate disdain. 'Ridiculous!' she exclaims. She is convinced there are other reasons behind it.

For a moment, I consider informing her about the gay discrimination in the Marine Corps. But I don't feel compelled to lament in the company pantry that the military presumes I am gay. Although the tough vibe of a position in the Corps appeals to me, my sexual orientation plays no role in this career ambition. Putting my love life on the table? Such a private matter should be far from a topic of conversation of this kind.

Monica asks if I have ever been 'naughty'. I don't quite understand what she means by that, but she wants to know if I've been in prison or addicted to heroin, for example. 'No,' is the answer. I have never been in trouble with the police or judiciary. I don't smoke, rarely drink and don't use drugs. Unlike Monica, who lights up cigarette after cigarette, I don't have anything to do with addictions.

However, an incident from years ago does come to mind. Police detectives then asked questions about a crime I had nothing to do with. Just as I am talking about it, a colleague from the Internet Helpdesk walks into the pantry to get something. His expression shows his surprise at our topic of conversation and makes one realise that it is inappropriate in business to inquire about such matters. Promptly, Monica suggests that she herself carry out a background check on me.

I consent to that. At the interview at the naval barracks, I was already surprised by suggestive questions indicating that the intelligence community had passed on information about me to the selection-psychologists. That violates the *Wet Veiligheidsonderzoeken* ('Security Investigations Act') and the professional code for psychologists. I hope the Military Intelligence Service can now clarify this.

'Can you accurately write down your official name, first names, date and place of birth?' Monica says she needs the exact personal details to check my antecedents – so I must not make a spelling mistake.

The MoD asked for precisely the same data before. I had to fill them in on an appendix to the application form because they were needed for an 'unspecified official administrative purpose' as the Navy cryptically called it. And, I also needed to have that attachment checked at City Hall – for 'legalisation'.

I now understand what the exact personal details were needed for: the security screening, which, by the way, was not allowed by law just yet.

First, the vetting process had to be completed. Then I had to give written approval to the Head of the MID, General Jo Vandeweijer, before the secret service was allowed to screen me. For that matter, the Royal Navy would not be given access to the antecedents. Upon completion of the security screening, the MID would only pass on whether the 'Statement of No Objection' had been issued, Navy spokesman Hamaken explained a few months earlier.

Suddenly, we are disturbed. It is Wednesday evening, July 15 – the digital clock on the kitchen counter reads 8.08 PM – when I hear

a clang. The pantry door is rudely slammed shut. A few seconds later, we are startled again. Bright flashes of light reflect on the windows.

I straighten my back and look around to find out who is photographing us. To my left is a large window. Are the flashbulbs perhaps coming from outside? This seems odd as the flashes are bright and we are not at street level, but on the fifth floor. On the right is the slammed door to the corridor, with a small window next to it. I do not, however, see a photographer.

Amazed, I remark: 'It looks like we are being photographed.' But Monica is so absorbed in her recruitment task that she manages not to be distracted. At the dining table, I write the requested personal details on a copy of a letter I wrote to the MoD inquiring what is the matter with my naval job application.[13] While reading it aloud, Monica's mind seems to wander as soon as I utter the name of my grandfather, whom I want to emulate. I ask her if she perhaps knows my uncle. After all, he bears the same name and enjoys some fame in The Hague as a painter.

Monica does not respond to this and takes the letter. She promises to collect my personal file from the MID next week.

She thinks I should not be so naive and adapt to what is customary within the military. That my application to the Marine Corps turned out so odd, wouldn't say much about marines. Then she talks about her boss at the MID. Her Marine colonel – whose name she is not allowed to mention – has been in constant conflict with MID top brass in the past. He is one of the few who has the guts repeatedly to criticise the leadership.

Monica goes on to say that her Marine colonel knows about my application to the Corps. My jaw drops when she tells me that the man is doing his best for me to join the Armed Forces.

It is strange that Monica has been given a week off to work in our department. The thought that she has been sent out to recruit me for an intelligence job is bizarre. That's quite a cumbersome recruitment method! Other employers who want to offer you a job will send you a letter. Or they call.

Despite my reservations, I refrain from commenting to Monica.

I have insufficient understanding of the spy profession and am flattered by the attention she gives me. And that a colonel of the Marines is committed to me, I am eager to believe.

CHAPTER 4

Intrusion

After our conversation, Monica and I return to the department. Ina has isolated herself and is the sole person sitting at a separate desk island. Around half past nine in the evening, Ina excuses herself as she needs to make a private phone call. This is unnecessary since other colleagues habitually make brief calls home. However, I have not heard Ina make a personal call before; curiously, I listen in.

Although she conducts her conversation in a loud voice, she has to repeat some sentences. Does she have a bad mobile connection? Nervously, she reports that everything is going well and then announces in a cracked voice that the video-recorder can be started. Which TV programme she absolutely does not want to miss, she does not say.

Once finished, she takes off her headset. She stands up and excuses herself a second time, as she needs to go to the toilet. This is rather ludicrous, considering no one bothers with such unnecessary courtesies. Monica responds laconically: 'Yes, if you have to then you have to.'

Ina leaves three colleagues in the department. Monica and Angela sit opposite me facing the corridor. And then: light flashes again. Amazed, Angela notes that an unknown man is photographing us from the hallway. I turn my office swivel chair around but see an empty corridor. He appears to have already disappeared.

Monica, who, like Angela, did see him, is terribly shocked. She turns white and trembles visibly when I ask her if she knows who the man is. 'No, I don't know,' Monica says, stuttering.

The next moment, Ina returns. In an extremely tense and wooden manner, she walks to her desk. Asked by Angela about

the photographer she denies with the utmost vigour that she saw anything at all. For that, Ina says she was at the lavatory for quite a while. Next, she lashes out at Angela. She snarls that she does not accept 'being harassed with such impertinent questions.' Angela is shaken by these words and humbly apologises.

Meanwhile, worried colleagues from the Internet Helpdesk come rushing into our department: do we perhaps know who the photographer is? None of us claims to know him.

Suddenly Monica wanders off. I consider going after her to calm her down. However, I cannot leave – through my headset I am talking to a client. This woman doesn't like the fact that I just asked a colleague a question and demands my attention.

When Monica returns after a few minutes, she has tears in her eyes. She tidies up her things and leaves early without addressing anyone. She remains absent for the rest of the week.

Casema office

The next evening, Nathan, an Internet Helpdesk colleague, tells us that the photo incident has been reported to the Delft police. He believes we are dealing with a case of corporate espionage.

The stranger, Nathan reveals, entered the headquarters without setting off the alarm. He then walked past Telesales and across the floor of the Internet Helpdesk with an impressively large camera. Here, he dazzled helpdesk colleagues with his flashes.

A colleague of Nathan's had the presence of mind to go after the photographer and get into the elevator with him. He had also asked the stranger what he was doing. The intruder sufficed with a short answer: 'This just had to be done.'

Nathan says the photographer once again managed to bypass the alarm on

leaving the premises. He therefore wonders how the man got a staff pass.

An accomplice waited for him in a car outside. The Casema colleague pursuing the photographer read the registration number before the car sped away. Finally, colleagues from the Internet Helpdesk saw the getaway car from the fifth floor turn onto the A13 highway, in the direction of The Hague.

The police had already tried to trace the Dutch car registration number, but it does not appear to be registered anywhere. We all find this strange. Apparently, we are not dealing with ordinary burglars here.

Nathan has no idea what the photographing spy was looking for on our office floor. After all, there are no confidential company documents on the fifth floor. Also, he wants to know who the woman is that he saw coming from the toilet. He did not yet know Ina and found her attitude suspicious when he spoke to her, especially as she was signalling to the photographer the second she left the toilet. Nathan therefore suspects her of involvement in the industrial espionage.

Lisa, the boss of our manager Anna, also wants to speak to me. She takes the time to talk to all employees who were present during the incident. Lisa confirms that the police have been called in because of the espionage. The Casema management is worried.

Face to face, Lisa explains that the intruder wanted to photograph Monica. She finds it incredibly strange that this MID officer has started working with us and that she talks openly about her intelligence work. But she doesn't trust Ina either.

Lisa heard from a colleague that I applied to the Marine Corps. I tell her I was turned down as my character was said to be too strong to be broken. She doesn't understand that, to which I reply that I don't understand it either and that I spoke to Monica about it during the break. She works at the Ministry of Defence (MoD), after all. Lisa nods understandingly and sighs as she searches in vain for clues to explain the break-in.

Later, another colleague also starts a conversation with me. Mark, a thoughtful Surinamese, is new to Telesales. He says he is

worried. He was not scheduled on the evening of the intrusion and asks what happened. I relate, but also ask him some questions.

Walking to the tram stop with Julia after work, I ask her opinion regarding Monica's moaning about the photo roll. Although Julia was the first to divulge Monica's double life, she now no longer dares to talk about it. She says it is a dangerous subject.

By now, the events are starting to worry me too: simply because it is so bizarre that Monica has been sent to us, I have joked at times about spies. But those were harmless gags. Real espionage is a subject far beyond my normal experience.

I do not realise exactly all that I have witnessed. Take the notebook that Ina was writing in. Although I cursorily read in it how she stole a badge, this memory has since faded. All the bizarre events are piling up too fast for comfort.

When Ina noticed me standing behind her, she hurriedly put away her notebook and turned red. While I realise she felt she had been caught, I don't attach too much importance to it. She can barely use a computer; she struggles to find her feet in the department. Therefore, it seems endearing to me that she secretly keeps a kind of diary in which she writes down her experiences in her new job.

It has not yet dawned on me that with my glance at Ina's notebook, not only is a Defence woman revealing her true role, she is exposing potentially the Defence organisation itself. Although Monica complains that the MoD is resisting openness about Srebrenica, it does not enter my mind to suspect Ina of playing a role in this. When you think of a spy, you think of James Bond and not a mummy who is fond of gardening. Should I have accused her of infiltration and military observation? And that in the Telesales department of Casema? Who comes up with something that ridiculous?

Even more than the espionage break-in, my application process is occupying my thoughts. First, I am turned down because my character is allegedly unbreakable, then I am offered a job in a secret service, and now my antecedents are being exposed as there might be something wrong with them. It feels ominous.

CHAPTER 5

Warnings

On Friday evening, 17 July, I strike up a conversation with Ina when I am briefly alone with her in the department. I tell her I suspect the Navy rejected me because of a gay affair. Quite to my surprise, Ina responds with empathy. Lovingly, she talks about her relationship: she confirms that she knows from her husband that homosexuality is indeed a very sensitive subject there.

But then she is startled. Apparently, she realises she has again disclosed that her husband works in the military. She clams up again. Still, I tell her that I have talked to Monica a lot about the MID and that she is going to look into my personal dossier.

Ina starts trembling. While I previously encountered a sore point when I linked her husband to the MoD in The Hague, this time she gets rather tense as soon as her husband surfaces in a conversation about the MID.

I feel pity when I see Ina, who could have been my mother given her age, trembling with fear. 'There will be trouble over this,' she stammers, referring to Monica's plan to check my antecedents. I decide to leave the subject that is driving her to despair, and concentrate further on work.

Monday, 20 July, I am called off by Casema and drop by Uncle Frans' painting studio. Last week I was surprised that Monica did not answer the question whether she knows him. So, I ask him if her name rings a bell.

My uncle does not have to think long. He remembers Monica vividly. He had been incredibly annoyed with her. Bluntly, he calls her a 'brutal dyke!' In his anger, he adds that she comes from Scheveningen and is a vulgar woman with no manners.

A few years ago, she had taken some painting lessons in his studio. She had no talent and no interest in painting either. Instead, Monica kept bothering him during group classes with probing questions. She wanted to know all about his contacts with the Egyptian embassy.

Frans spent many years immersing himself in Jewish mysticism. He also became interested in the culture that had shaped this ancient people and he created a series of oil paintings inspired by the Great Pyramid and the Sphinx. Exhibitions and trips to the Land of the Nile resulted as a matter of course in him befriending several Egyptians, including the Minister of Transport and Tourism.[14]

I tell my uncle that Monica has been working in the Military Intelligence Service for more than seven years. He is relieved as it confirms the suspicion she aroused in him when she was taking lessons from him. He was dead right after all: Monica is a spy.

Frans in the Navy

I also tell him about the other Defence woman at Casema; however, he has, unfortunately, never heard of Ina. About military intelligence and how they operate there, he can speak volumes, though. During his time of service in the Naval Intelligence Service (MARID), he frequently encountered vice cases. Usually, it involved forbidden sexual contact between servicemen, issues that were then quite often covered up. A name was then quickly changed in the dossier.

Uncle Frans explicitly warns against the dirty games played in military intelligence. Instead, he prefers to talk about the paintings he made during his service. For instance, one day he had painted a portrait of Jan van Dulm, then Head of the MARID.[15] The painting was received with praise, after which Frans was allowed to paint the most senior officers.[16] It did not stop there. The admirals also had their wives come by for a faithful portrait.

Once home, I realise that while Monica is looking into my antecedents today, I have also found out more about her. At least now one can understand why she refused to respond to the question whether she knows my uncle. Her earlier misbehaviour at Uncle Frans' studio she prefers to keep to herself.

With the new information, I can better place Monica's intelligence work. Her painting lessons in order to explore his diplomatic contacts, and her work at Casema to recruit me for the position of military analyst, point in the same direction. The penny drops: Monica fulfils intelligence assignments by the score.

On Tuesday 21 July, I am once again called off by Casema. Telesales has been facing overstaffing since two Defence women started working who have a preference for my working hours.

Wednesday evening, I arrive back in Delft, where Anna informs me that she has terminated the contract with my temp agency. This is surprising as Randstad did not communicate anything about this. Anna also does not explain further why she dissolved the contract.

She does however suggest I work another two hours, because otherwise I would have cycled from The Hague to Delft for nothing. I accept the offer and walk over to supervisor Marlies. The events do not leave her unmoved – with tears in her eyes, she tells me the departure has nothing to do with me. On the contrary, Casema is very pleased with me. She has no idea why I have to leave and says she is overwhelmed by it.

I grab a chair at Ina and Monica's desk island. Ina, however, protests vehemently. She shouts that I have been fired. She forbids me to sit down because I would no longer have anything to do in the department.

Ina's mention of 'firing' startles me. This is not a question of getting fired, nor has Casema used this word. Ina's audacity upsets me; she only has a summer job and should not interfere with my every move. I sit down opposite her.

One can only guess at the reason for my departure and I suspect it has to do with Ina's intrigues. Could it be her revenge for last

Friday when she was terrified while talking about her husband and the MID?

I no longer care about being prohibited from mentioning the profession of Ina's husband. I bluntly state that three of us have something to do with the Armed Forces: isn't it a coincidence that Monica works in Defence, Ina's husband too, while I applied there?

Monica jumps up fiercely. She turns her head to Ina, who is sitting next to her, and looks at her with a wary eye. So, apparently, Monica did not know that besides her, another Defence woman was deployed with us.

The revelation causes Ina to erupt in anger. She snarls about the concurrence: 'It's not at all coincidental!' She refrains from further explanation.

When I ask Monica between a few phone calls about the intelligence file relating to my Navy application, she says aloud that she cannot say anything about it. Well, apparently she can after all. Because moments later, she whispers that she wants to speak to me in private afterwards, in the hallway in front of the lifts.

CHAPTER 6

Antecedents

At eight o'clock in the evening, I clear out my desk drawer. Anna stays with me and tells me she is dissatisfied with my temp agency. One temp from Randstad Callflex reported sick on the first day; the others are on holiday. Anna explains that of the four Randstad temps, I am the only one doing his job. As a result, it was decided to continue using only the services of Teleprofs.

I say goodbye to Anna and my colleagues in a perfectly friendly and civil way. Only Ina demurs: she refuses to wish me well and indeed faces me with a hostile look.

I leave the department and walk to the hallway in front of the lifts. I wait there for Monica, who explains that she is not actually allowed to say anything about my personal file. On her own initiative, however, she does shed some light. My antecedents were indeed the stumbling block. Although, according to the law, my past should not have been raised at all, she nonetheless says that a 'clean record' is required when applying for such a job.

I am perplexed. First my character is too strong and now suddenly I am confronted with the opposite: my character or integrity would seem to be too feeble to serve my country as an officer. Nonetheless, I am of use to the state government as an analyst at the MID, a highly sensitive position in which I would undoubtedly come into contact with state secrets. How is it possible that the Armed Forces should approach me in such a contradictory manner? And does it demonstrate integrity that the MoD examined my past in violation of the Dutch Security Investigations Act?

Monica's emphasis on my antecedents forces me to think back to phases in my life that I thought I had left behind. I am not without faults and have committed indiscretions at times.

For example, when I worked as an escort for a while in the past, I agreed to take part in a very controversial project of the BVD, the Domestic Security Service of the Netherlands. It involved giving sexual pleasure to high-ranking foreign guests.

One of the project's organisers approached me for this in the summer of 1992. The man, who was a friend of mine, told of the reluctance to use the existing escort agencies in The Hague for the diplomats. Instead, the BVD wanted to contract its own girls and boys of a higher level. For this, I was approached. Explicitly, the organiser pointed out that there was not only a need for call girls, but also a sole call boy. Diplomats with gay or bisexual preferences could thus also be accommodated.

I declared my willingness to work as an escort for the BVD. Nevertheless, it did not amount to anything and I stuck to my own clientele. This is because, on second thoughts, the BVD only wanted to make use of a few students at the Hotelschool in The Hague. Since they lived on campus, good supervision was possible. The BVD's long arm could easily intervene in case the girls and boys were found to be indiscreet. After all, the escorts were not supposed to cause trouble.

But there were other reasons for engaging with students from the Hotelschool. For instance, it was seen as practical that the school is located in the 'Royal city', as diplomats also tend to stay here. Moreover, the central government valued the education. For the pleasing of the distinguished guests, it was helpful that the students here learn their foreign languages, dress representatively and are trained to be service-minded.

Regardless of whether they would seclude themselves with a diplomat that evening, the young government escorts would receive a fixed amount of five hundred guilders, each evening they were to indulge the diplomats [about 1,200 euro in today's money]. Moreover, they were required to tie up part of their earnings for a long period of time. The organiser told me that they were allowed to get their savings only if they kept quiet about the nature of their work. In the contracts he drew up for them, the overt term 'escort' was not used. The state government spoke of 'hostesses' and 'hosts'.

Absolute discretion was required because Dutch citizens and Christian politicians would have great objections to spending public money on the hostesses and hosts, the man assured me. Parliament would surely disapprove and therefore it had to be hushed up.

As a young adult at the time, I did not give enough consideration to how controversial these sexual services actually were. Because I did not mean any harm, I hardly thought about it.

I have always done my escort work with a clear conscience. That I would not have a clean past is therefore beyond comprehension. I was approached by the BVD, within the purview of the Home Office, precisely because of my good name. And even if it didn't work out then, how can the State now blame me for my escort past, when they had wanted to hire me for these very services at the time?

Earlier I sympathised with Monica when she complained about the MID, but this time the roles are reversed. I am disappointed by the erratic course of my Navy application and she is visibly compassionate. In fact, she is trembling all over. However, since this level of pity is a bit excessive, I consider that it is mainly the espionage developments in our department that are upsetting her. While my departure from Casema is sealed, Monica gathers courage. She informs me that her Marine colonel is still committed to me. In a voice that reflects much tension, she says the last word on my application has not been spoken.

A few days earlier, I received a written response from Recruitment & Selection to my letter of 21 June. To my surprise, in it, E.M. Beezemer informs me that I was rejected for the position of aspiring officer partly because of alleged drug use.[17]

When I ask Monica if she can explain, no answer is given. I have had enough by now – I cannot stand this madness – and I bid her farewell to leave for good this firm with howling and shivering Defence women.

As I do not have a staff pass, I ask Anna to accompany me to the exit. Surprised that I did not leave earlier, she asks what I have been doing for the past few minutes. When I answer her that Monica wanted to speak to me in private about my personal dossier belonging to the MID, Anna says she finds this very strange. And as the

lift slides down towards the exit, I realise she is right. Although my in-depth conversations with the recruiter took place during breaks, I got carried away with something that had nothing to do with Casema. Indeed, it is rather unusual for a military secret service to hold consultations in a civilian company.

The next day, I drop by Randstad Callflex. Consultant Sander explains that Anna only left a short message on his answering machine, in which she terminated the contract without informing him of the reason.

Sander is angry and assumes Anna cancelled the contract for financial reasons. Randstad Callflex pays an evening allowance in accordance with union standards. Teleprofs does not do so, which in his view constitutes unfair competition.

The consultant has discussed the issue with Randstad's head office and reports that no more Randstad branches will work with Casema. Due to unfair competition, Randstad could take Casema to court. He is also convinced he would win this case, but because it is a lot of hassle, he leaves things as they are. In addition, he maintains that Casema should never have dropped us.

A week later, I get an unexpected phone call from a former colleague with whom I worked one evening in the Telesales department. Jasper, 21, is sorry that I suddenly left. He had no idea why that had to happen and requested my phone number from Anna.

We have many telephone conversations in which he often talks about Monica because he frequently chats with her at work. The two talk about topics such as the Gay Games in Amsterdam, severe gay discrimination at the MoD, and her visiting house parties. Jasper mentions that she is from Scheveningen, which I had already heard from my uncle.

I ask Jasper if he would like to talk to her for me. That same evening, she calls me on her break, to point out sternly that I should not contact her. However, she does want to say that my application is back on the agenda at the MID on 13 August. She promises to call me back about the outcome.

Jasper and I decide to meet. When he settles on the sofa next to me in my condo, he says he thinks I'm a stud. He had even specially changed his schedule at Casema in the hope of working there with me again.

When I met him in Delft, it was mainly his confident gaze that attracted me. But he also has a nice body. I can't help but blush when Jasper touches me. Yet I don't hesitate for long. We kiss each other passionately, after which I lift him up and take him to my bed.

Jasper and I complement each other well. We see each other more and more often. Almost every weekend he sleeps in my arms, using my shoulder as a pillow.

I take him to the painting studio of my uncle, who is very courteous to him. Frans even invites us to pose together. Hereupon, we get immortalised as a love couple on large oil paintings.

Immortalized on canvas

While I have a new temp job, Jasper continues to work at Casema. Since he likes to get things off his chest after work, he keeps me informed about Monica's rants about her intelligence work.

At Telesales, the abbreviation MID is by now fully established. Monica keeps talking about the internal power struggle there. Finally, she tells her colleagues that her colonel – who always criticises MID policy – is dismissed by its head, General Vandeweijer. The General and the Marine Colonel couldn't get along anymore.

The dismissal affects her. As stress mounts at the Intelligence Department of the MID where she works, she sobs more and more in front of her Casema colleagues.

For her secret service work, she says she has to commute daily in The Hague between the *Frederikkazerne* ('Frederick barracks') and the MoD on the Plein, the town square in the old centre.

She goes on to tell Jasper that she once flew to a certain metropolis in the Far East for her job. She just needed to drop something off in person. But alas, she did not get the opportunity to tour this city as she had to fly back the very next day. No, things are not going her way.

Monica cannot stop talking about the Srebrenica photo roll. She says she has long since seen with her own eyes the prints from the infamous roll, which supposedly failed during development. She also confirms to Jasper that the MoD wants to prevent the photos from ending up in popular magazines.

I also hear from Jasper that now that her colonel is departing the Armed Forces, she also wants to step down. At Casema, she says she learned to deal with normal people again and ideally would like to enter permanent employment there. Spontaneously, Jasper advises her to write a cover letter to his stepfather, who is Head of Human Resources at the company. This scares her. She is angry that Jasper did not inform her about this family connection earlier and decides to apply for a job with another employer.

It is 4 September when Jasper calls me early in the morning. He wants to speak to me about an issue that worries him. The previous evening, Monica ordered him not to see me any longer. She told him that as a result of my job application, she would have found out deadly serious things about me. These would even be so severe that I would not dare to discuss them with him.

When I hear that the Armed Forces are banning my boyfriend from seeing me, I am shocked. Over the phone, I then make a few stern statements that slightly surprise myself. I argue that the MID should be concerned with state security and not the sexual activities of citizens. I presume to call in The Hague's top lawyer Gerard Spong, whom I know from a café I frequent, and hear myself say: 'I don't care if the head of the Head MID has to roll!'

It is quite something when a secret agent, behind your back, orders your boyfriend to break up with you, referring to a secret

personal dossier. A government agency tasked with providing security information to the Minister of Defence instils fear in Jasper, with an imputation I cannot defend myself against.

It was Anna, the manager of the Telesales department, who had Jasper hook up with me by giving him my phone number. Instead of respecting this, Monica forbids him from seeing me. I realise that, as a temp, she is seriously overstepping her boundaries in doing this and abusing her position as an intelligence officer. To what do I owe her suddenly turning on me? It is a mystery. She promised to call back after the MID meeting but did not. And she also forbade me from contacting her.

I realise I am dealing with government allegations which are completely out of bounds. I have the strong impression that the MID is using my escort past against me, even though it was the rival intelligence agency – domestic security service BVD – that ordered everyone to keep quiet on the subject.

That the escort project was made a 'state secret' had nothing to do with national security. No, it was to avoid disgracing the BVD. There was fear of the public outcry should it became known that the central government was spending tax money on luxury hookers.

That same BVD would not give me access to my own personal file. On 2 July 1994, I had written to request permission to see it,[18] but after waiting for more than a year, this was rejected by the Acting Head of the BVD due to state security reasons.[19] As a result, my file could not be checked for any errors. I am thus being judged for entries in my dossier that may have been entered incorrectly or incompletely.

But what stings most is that my courage to speak the truth is being doubted. Behind my back, it is casually proclaimed in the business world that I do not dare to discuss my antecedents in my intelligence dossier, even though the contents are a mystery. What on earth can there be in those cursed documents that is so grave that I dare not talk about it?

It is too ridiculous for words if lovers in this country were to be required by the State to confess 'the sins of youth' to each other. Challenged by Monica, however, I decide to do this anyway. I

inform Jasper about my escort past, which I do not look back on with regret.

My outright revelation does not faze Jasper; in fact, he finds the disclosure less exciting than Monica's warning suggested. At this, he resolves to keep his distance from her. From now on, he draws closer to Julia.

I can't get the intrigues out of my mind. It is beyond bizarre that in a workplace where simple office workers are selling cable internet, actual spies are lurking. The behaviour of Monica, Ina and the unknown burglar disturbs many. Do secret agents in our country have nothing better to do than draw attention to themselves by photographing each other with flash lights among young officemates in a large corporation?

The involvement of a Dutch intelligence service is only justified in Holland in the event of a threat which has the gravity of potentially undermining state security. In practice, this should involve unprecedentedly serious matters such as terrorist attacks or the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Nevertheless, a spy breaks into our department, defending his actions with the phrase: 'This just had to be done.'

But is this really the case? Does he indeed have a legitimate reason that justifies sneaking into a secure business premises and terrifying employees? Are we – by connecting citizens to the internet – putting our country at grave risk? Is the future of the Netherlands at stake at Casema?

I am beginning to suspect that with this break-in, we are dealing with a true government scandal. Gradually, I realize that the commotion surrounding my reputation is merely diverting attention from the real issue at hand.

The intelligence intrigues in our workplace are partly about the aftermath of a genocide. The massacre at Srebrenica is not only the most serious war crime in Europe since the 1950s. It is also the greatest trauma in our country's history since the Holocaust, when a hundred thousand Jews were deported, with the help of the Dutch police, to be murdered elsewhere.

Incidentally, the deployment adventures of the two Defence women soon come to an end. Jasper relates that Monica left the MID on 1 October with much argument and fuss, only to leave Casema on the same day. Ina had left the company earlier.

A week later, Jasper invites me to the home of his mother and stepfather, Mr Hartogs. Jasper is staying here for a few days. He has nestled in the attic room, where he seduces me into a heated love-making.

Satisfied, later that day we have a drink in the living room. I get to join the family dinner. Hartogs approaches me, Jasper's first boyfriend, in a very courteous manner. Over dinner, he even invites me to apply for a permanent job at Casema.

CHAPTER 7

Escalation

Since Defence Recruitment & Selection as well as Monica are raising suspicions about me, I wonder what is known about me in government realms. What kind of stories are circulating?

On 29 September 1998, I talk to an employee of the District Court in The Hague about this. She denies that I have any judicial or criminal record.[20] I also visit the Police Headquarters in The Hague, where a helpful coordinator certifies that my name does not appear in any registration system.[21] Put simply, I have a clean record.

Now that it is clear that only my intelligence file is an issue, I object to the application rejection on the grounds of possible errors in it.[22] After all, domestic secret service BVD forbade me to see my personal file. As a result, the rejection is based on unverified and therefore possibly incorrect data.

It is only on 23 November that a response arrives. On behalf of the Director of Personnel of the Royal Navy, L.K.S. Kruithoed responds succinctly to the objection: 'During the psychological selection, the Royal Navy did not have access in any way to personal dossiers of the BVD. Any incriminating information that might be known about you by the BVD was therefore not taken into account during the selection procedure.'[23]

This contradicts what Monica told me. If the Navy cannot access my intelligence file, why did she ask me to write down my personal details to check if it contains unwelcome data? And why did she say a week later that my antecedents were indeed the stumbling block for my naval application?

Since the Navy does not provide clarification, I decide to write

to the National Ombudsman. For me, this is a big step. This is the first time I write to this counsellor. Once before I was on the verge of raising a wrongdoing in the workplace, but I failed to do so then.

At the time – it was the early 1990s – I had a temp job as an attendant at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. On a daily basis, regular colleagues expressed concerns about large-scale misappropriations of the museum exhibits we were supposed to guard. Over the years, the objects would have disappeared during the museum's rearrangements once the curators had them under their care for longer periods. In this regard, my fellow attendants talked about the high appraisal value of some unique objects that were no longer on display.

I spoke about this in confidence with befriended journalist Karin Piters back then. She had once interviewed Defence whistleblower Fred Spijkers and warned of the backlash I might face should I go on record with these rumours. Following her advice, I kept my head down. I did not take the job of attendant too seriously, which ultimately, I regret. All the more so when I read an article about this in daily *De Volkskrant* on 16 July 1998.

MP Gerrit Valk had submitted parliamentary questions on the museum collection to Deputy Minister Aad Nuis of Education, Culture and Science. The latter replied that over the years 'a large number of objects disappeared, lawfully or unlawfully'.[24] *De Volkskrant* writes that criminal investigations revealed that about 19 thousand out of 229 thousand items are missing. The Justice Ministry suspects that many objects were stolen, but cannot substantiate this suspicion. The missing museum pieces could not be traced.[25]

I am shocked by the article and realise that the large-scale embezzlement that my colleagues kept complaining about did actually take place. Thousands of Eastern art treasures we were supposed to guard have gone.

It is these antecedents that make me realise that I should not go down the same shameful road again – this time I will not leave it at that.

On 1 December, I write National Ombudsman Marten Oosting about how my application to the Marine Corps was handled. In

doing so, I ask him to investigate MID's actions.[26] In the letter, I question the observation that my character cannot be broken: 'In my humble opinion, this assessment seems to underestimate the professional competence of marine instructors. I would appreciate it if the Navy would dare to show courage and revise its assessment.'

Later, alleged drug use was also thrown in, which, however, was no obstacle to asking me to serve as an analyst for the Military Intelligence Service. I ask Oosting to examine this ground for rejection as well.

The petition further discusses the MID's meddling in both my work and private life. For instance, I write about Monica ordering Jasper not to get in touch with me again and her accusation that my past would be so upsetting that I would not have the courage to talk about it. Challenged by the Military Intelligence Service – at least it feels that way – I show guts on this. I put my cards on the table regarding my life's journey, which I perceive as exciting and insightful.

Confidentially, I let Oosting know I temporarily worked as an escort in the past. Why does the MID violate bedroom secrets during the application process and why am I the one being judged on my private behaviour?

While I don't delve in the BVD's escort project, I do point out the government's hypocrisy. Nothing is said about senior military and intelligence officials visiting prostitutes and also booking me on occasion. Nevertheless, yours truly is judged on the basis of his escort past: that is a bold example of double standards.

In response, the National Ombudsman calls on Minister of Defence Frank de Grave to provide clarification.[27] The Cabinet Member then orders the Chief of Staff of the MID R. Wielinga to carry out an internal investigation. In this context, Monica is interrogated by Intelligence Major De Ruyter and Adjutant Petty Officer Rave on 11 February 1999.[28]

Monica makes one remarkable statement after another during her interrogation: although she confirms having asked me to join the MID, I would, according to her, appear to be 'completely insane'. Monica also claims that I would have been fired at Casema

for ‘irritating and maladjusted behaviour’. And also, her having started working there would be something that is perfectly normal for a military intelligence officer.

Monica’s integral testimony

On 11 February, an interview was held with [Monica] at her new employer DUTCHTONE in The Hague. [Monica] stated:

- Having worked with GILTAY for three days, from 6 to 10 PM, at CASEMA in The Hague during the month of June. After these three days, GILTAY was fired due to ‘irritating and maladjusted behaviour’.
- At the start of her work at CASEMA, she made a presentation to other staff members about her work at the MID. In doing so, she said she did not go into the nature of her work but confined herself to the generally known image of the MID and the fact that she held an administrative position.
- In a conversation during a break GILTAY told her that he had been turned down for a position as an officer in the Marine Corps after a psychological examination and that he was interested in a job in the MID.
- She gave him the obvious advice to inquire about the ground for rejection or request a second interview. In addition, advised him to write an open application letter to the MID.
- GILTAY asked her if she could do anything for him and if he had an MID dossier.

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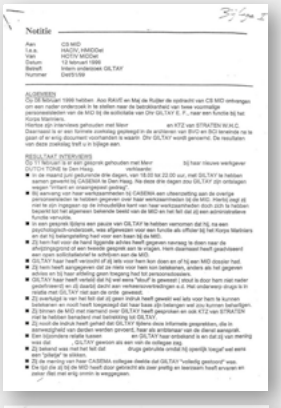

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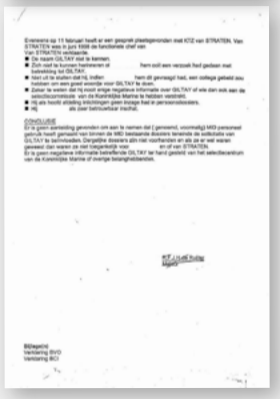


The Intel report

- She indicated to him that she could do nothing for him other than the advice given and that her department did not have access to personal files.
- GILTAY told her that he had been 'naughty' at times (naughty was not further defined by him) and she was thinking of traffic offences etc. The subject of drugs was not raised in relation to GILTAY.
- She is convinced that she gave no impression that she could do anything for him and never promised that her boss could look after his interests.
- She did not discuss GILTAY with anyone within the MID, nor did she approach Navy Captain VAN STRATEN regarding GILTAY.
- She never had the impression that during these informal conversations, which were held in the presence of third parties, GILTAY addressed her as an official of the service.
- A special relationship between [JASPER] and GILTAY was unknown to her and that she was of the opinion that [JASPER] saw GILTAY simply as one of the colleagues.
- She was familiar with the fact that [JASPER] used drugs because he openly admitted to taking the occasional 'pill'.
- She shared the opinion of her CASEMA colleagues that GILTAY was 'completely insane'.
- She found the time she spent at the MID very enjoyable and instructive and certainly did not leave following any disagreement.

The MID report containing Monica's testimony is presented to Ombudsman Oosting by Permanent Secretary Dirk Barth on 2 March 1999. In an accompanying letter, he denies that my antecedents have been raked up, and on behalf of Minister De Grave, he agrees with the report's findings: 'A report of this investigation can be found in appendix 1. Its results speak for themselves.'[29]

In doing so, De Grave implicitly indicates that the false statement of insanity regarding me embodies his own verdict – after all, he does not distance himself from it.

When I show the letter to Uncle Frans, he gets very upset. 'Almost murderous' is his comment. He ponders the situation, notes that I need protection of the highest order, and lends me a state portrait he painted of Queen Beatrix.[30] Thereby she watches over you spiritually, he adds.

I too am speechless. While Casema immediately called in the police, I had approached the national ombudsman with restraint.

In my letter, I had shown my modesty by questioning the assessment that I am too strong. Instead of providing me with a proper drill as an aspiring officer, the Defence Ministry is now letting things escalate unnecessarily.

It is not a drill sergeant trying to discipline me. No, none other than the Permanent Secretary – the most powerful civil servant – is attacking me as a young citizen. Thereby targeting exactly my strong asset: namely, my bold character. The situation is akin to an elephant trying to ward off a mosquito by trumpeting frantically.

It is quite something when a state government proceeds to cover up a certain case by psychiatrifying the declarant with false testimony and by dismissing a second witness – Jasper – as a drug user. However, such KGB methods do not get you off lightly in this country. I am sure this ploy will backfire on the senior officials who put De Grave in charge by signing a false statement on his behalf. The truth will come out sooner or later anyway.

Monica's accusations are too preposterous to be taken seriously. I cannot possibly become hateful about it: I have too cheerful a character for that. No, her utterances mainly arouse wonderment as the Ministry spreads them blindly, while the untruths are very easy to refute.

At Telesales, Monica openly complained that she was becoming 'totally crazy' at the MID. She may say that about herself, but to then immediately declare others crazy as well is going way too far. Assessing others in this way is best left to those who are suitably qualified.

And that is exactly what happened. Two psychologists examined me in-depth at the Amsterdam Naval Barracks during the time I worked at Casema. Their conclusions are recorded in MoD documentation,[31] in which, crazily enough, there is nothing at all to suggest mental instability.

Nor is there any question of dismissal on the grounds of 'irritating and inappropriate behaviour'. Temp agency consultant Sander and former manager Anna are happy to send me a testimonial.

Sander declares in writing that I performed my work to the satisfaction of Randstad Callflex.[32] In a second attestation, he states that I also performed my duties to the full satisfaction of client Casema.[33] The latter is confirmed in a third testimonial signed by Casema's vice-president of Human Resources.[34]

Testimonial Randstad

GETUIGSCHRIFT

Testimonial Casema

That I was 'fired' is also not true. Because of my employment contract with Randstad Callflex, Casema was in no position to sack me. My departure had to do with the dissolution of the contract between Randstad and Casema, which meant that four flex workers could no longer continue at Casema. After this, Randstad found me a new temp job.

More importantly, Casema did not want to let go of me in contrast to the other Randstad workers. Before the collective contract with Randstad was revoked, Anna invited me to become a permanent employee. Following my departure, even Human Resources president Hartogs invited me to come back to the company.

Jasper also puts his experiences at the Delft company in writing. He makes two statements about Monica's potentially criminal behaviour, as she spoke out about state secret files. Among other things, he writes:[35]

> During the time I worked at Casema, Ms [Monica] ordered me to stop seeing Mr Edwin Giltay because she knew bad things about him. The antecedents were so bad that according to [Monica], Mr Edwin Giltay would not dare to tell me these.

In my communication with the Ombudsman, I had not yet pointed out that Monica had breached state secrets regarding the MID and Srebrenica. Nor had the spying photographer, who had scared her so much, been discussed.

However, now that she feels it necessary to cast the character of Jasper and yours truly in a dim light, there is no reason to keep the heat off her. Moreover, it is beginning to dawn on me that all her stories of lies and deceit within the MID indicate that Minister De Grave is not being adequately briefed by this service. Does he even know that the police had been called in following the intelligence intrigues at Casema?

On 10 May, a letter about the spying incident goes to Ombudsman Oosting,[36] with a request to forward it to the Defence Minister. I inform De Grave that I will commit to getting Monica prosecuted, in 'the interest of a reliable supply of information'. A minister should not be lied to by his own (former) intelligence officers.

September 1998, I met a legal expert in a café, whose real name will be withheld for the sake of privacy. With him – I will call him Lucas – I become close friends. He decides to assist me free of charge.

Periodically, he stays with me so that we can then spend days at a time working on legally thorough letters. We commit with earnestness to clarifying this affair, but we also laugh a lot. As the stupidity with which the spies operated in this affair continues to sink in, it becomes an increasingly difficult task to take the MoD seriously any longer.

With Lucas' help, I write a long supplementary letter to Oosting on 28 May 1999.[37] In it, I point out to him, among other things, that Monica was always moaning about the internal discord within the MID. I inform him that I cannot help but feel that I have become

either directly or indirectly a 'victim' of a battle of wills, in which I have no part.

Thereby, I refer to the Military Intelligence and Security Project Group led by Rear Admiral S.W. van Idsinga. This flag officer was Head of the MARID before the intelligence services of the Armed Forces (Navy, Army and Air Force) were merged into one Military Intelligence Service in 1987. In his investigative report released in March 1995, he wrote that 'the impression is that there are several tribal struggles taking place, with related suspicion'.[38] I leave Oosting in no doubt that the intrigues at Casema indicate that this tribal struggle is still not over.

At the National Ombudsman's Office, case handler Peter-Paul Schets deals with citizens' complaints against Intelligence. In a conversation with me, he commented that although he thought this was a complicated case with several interesting elements, he had little confidence in resolving it. Furthermore, he explicitly added, complaints about intelligence agencies are hopeless from the outset: almost all petitioners are paranoid. To that, he laughingly asked if I might also think my phone was being tapped.[39]

In the interest of an unbiased investigation, on 30 May I request the National Ombudsman to replace the case handler.[40] The Deputy Ombudsman, who oversees the quality of the investigations, replies that she regrets Schets' remarks, in as much they may have proved insulting and offensive to me. Nevertheless, she refuses to replace him.[41]

But then another unpleasant thing happens. Jasper's stepfather, Hartogs, is held accountable by Casema as president of Human Resources for the confusing spying entanglements. Jasper tells me Hartogs has been reprimanded on this intelligence affair and is to be demoted.

Emotions of distress hit his family: Jasper talks of crying fits, helplessness and overstrain. At a time when we see each other less anyway, secrecy perils and fear of government machinations finally lead to a complete separation between us. The MID, who ordered Jasper to break with me, gets its way in this relationship after all. This hits home with me, all the more so because I believe that not

Casema, but the MoD should be held accountable for this military intelligence scandal.

Since Lucas is not a licensed lawyer, on 19 May I wrote to Gerard Spong that I need a resourceful lawyer. And certainly one that is not afraid of the secret service.[42] On this, he decided to assist me pro bono: 'In response to your letter, I am prepared to explore the possibility of initiating a criminal case for defamation against the MID officer concerned.'[43]

Following his advice, I compile a notice of complaint, which I deliver to Chief Public Prosecutor Stef van Gend at the Palace of Justice in The Hague on 28 June.[44] In this letter, I dissect the defamatory report of the Chief of Staff of the MID and ask the Chief Prosecutor to charge Monica. Furthermore, Spong telephones the MoD to ask critical questions of its top civil servants. Taking everything into consideration, Permanent Secretary Barth and possibly even Minister De Grave are complicit in defamation. After all, the report was sent out into the world on their behalf.

And then it happens: a furious Minister De Grave sacks the MID's top brass on 13 July 1999. Heads roll – that of the Head of the MID General Vandeweijer and his deputy, Chief of Staff Wielinga. Dutch national TV news programme *NOS Journaal* opens with the news.[45]

On the eight o'clock newscast, however, Minister De Grave is not talking about *this* affair. No, the media is covering another Srebrenica-related cover-up. De Grave publicly expresses his rage that his intelligence officers misled him by withholding a report on right-wing extremist behaviour on the part of Dutchbat soldiers. The daily *De Volkskrant* reports on its front page on 14 July that De Grave considers it essential that, as he is politically responsible at the MoD, he has 'all relevant information' so that he can be accountable to Parliament. De Grave: 'That is the most basic part of the functioning of a parliamentary democracy.'[46]

Furthermore, *De Volkskrant* writes: 'The MID, which has been undergoing re-organisation since 1987, is still not performing well. In fact, each branch of the Armed Forces also maintains its own intelligence service, which often does not cooperate with its parent

organisation MID. The Army Intelligence Service, for example, played an obstinate role in the aftermath of Srebrenica.'

All Dutch newspapers write about the Srebrenica report being covered up and the dismissal of the Head of the MID and its Chief of Staff. Major De Ruyter, who interrogated Monica for the Chief of Staff, I also encounter later in the press: it turns out he was working as a counter-intelligence officer for the Royal Army. This implies that, as an internal agent spying on his own colleagues, he worked for the army's intelligence squad, which is discredited over Srebrenica.[47]

The Srebrenica photographic film was destroyed to avoid negative publicity about Dutchbat's actions, according to radio programme *Argos*. Monica highlighted the fear of publication of the photos in *Nieuwe Revu*. This magazine reports on the photo roll and De Ruyter on 17 November 1999:[48, 49]

> Even better known is Lieutenant Rutten's roll of film, which contained images of Dutchbat soldiers who helped separate Muslim men from their wives and children during the fall of Srebrenica in 1995. The roll was seized by the Military Intelligence Service (MID) in Zagreb. Lieutenant Colonel Bleumink and Major De Ruiter of that service called Rutten when he was in the Netherlands and said the photos were politically sensitive. Soon after, the very same De Ruiter called saying that the negatives had accidentally turned black while being developed. Moreover, immediately after development – and this is very unusual – developer, bleach and fixer had been thrown together, so an investigation into the exact cause of the failure was no longer possible.

On 21 July, a week after the dismissal of the MID command, with Lucas' help I write a supplementary notice of complaint to Chief Public Prosecutor Van Gend.[50] In twelve pages, I elaborate on Monica's defamatory testimony and her laments – witnessed, among others, by Defence woman Ina – about the MID. I include the statements issued by Randstad, Casema and Jasper.

Van Gend replies on August 26 that Monica's remarks do not fall within any offence mentioned in the Dutch Criminal Code. Furthermore, he writes nothing about Ina.[51] This is highly remarkable. After all, this sends the message that it is okay for agents during infiltrations to reveal their identities for no reason, to complain about assignments in faraway countries, and to discuss conflicts within their organisation regarding war crime footage.

A copy of my wide-ranging notice of complaint I hand over to the National Ombudsman's Office as the documents contradicting Monica are relevant to his investigation into the MID.[52] However, Oosting's successor as National Ombudsman, Roel Fernhout, completely ignores this letter.

On 17 December 1999, Fernhout finally issues the long-awaited Ombudsman's report. It deems my complaints of 1 December the previous year to be unfounded.[53]

Needless to say, it is an absolute mortal sin for intelligence officers to speak to third parties about their work. Anyone with any common sense knows that secret agents are supposed to operate in secret – in other words, undercover – during infiltrations. But like Van Gend, Fernhout does not criticise this misstep.

Besides the notice of complaint to Van Gend, case handler Schets turns out to have ignored other documents, such as my letter of 10 May about the espionage break-in. Consequently, there is no mention of this at all in the ombudsman's report, nor about the withholding of the photo roll or other misconduct of the MID.

On the other hand, he does include that I am 'irritating', 'maladjusted' and 'completely insane', as part of the 'Minister's Position'. It is beyond belief but the National Ombudsman publishes it. He thereby ignores the Defence psychologists' test results and echoes the gross allegations that De Grave presented.

I had informed the ombudsman that my former colleagues – Ina, Jasper, Angela, Marlies, Mark and Irene – were witnesses to the espionage entanglements in our workplace. Ina even took notes. But no, none of them were heard.

The government intrigues at Casema caused a lot of turmoil and

even had personnel consequences at the top of this large company. Did the National Ombudsman contact its management? No, he limits his investigation to just two aspects of my naval application. While thereby showing his supreme discretion when it comes to intelligence wrangling, he shows little discretion where other matters are concerned, such as my escort past.

To report the defamation by Monica, I visited the police station twice in July 1999. Both times I was rebuffed. By necessity, I sent two letters of complaint about this to The Hague Police Chief Jan Wiarda.[54] Long procedures followed in which I had to write many letters, only because I wanted to exercise my right to file a police report. My resolve in this sensitive matter is apparently deemed unwelcome, which is evidenced by an anonymous late-night phone call in which I am scolded for being a 'bloodhound' and a 'leech'.[55]

It is only on 12 June 2000 that I am finally given the opportunity to have an official record taken.[56] The police forward this report with twelve supplements to the Public Prosecutor's Office in The Hague for investigation.[57]

Months later, on 19 September, I receive a letter from Inspector A. Teiwes of the police in The Hague on this matter.[58] Without explanation, he writes that the investigation did not yield any result and the report will be filed in the police records.

It is strange that this letter comes from the police. After all, the Public Prosecutor's Office should not send a police report back to the police after investigation. Moreover, the police force is the authoritative branch against which I have lingering proceedings because it had refused to record my report. By deciding to put it in its own archives, the police are passing judgement in a case in which they themselves are parties. This violates the constitutional separation of the judiciary and the executive.

The turn of events makes me decide to call on the Queen. On 14 October 2000, I write to Her Majesty Queen Beatrix – who as Head of State is of course above all parties – about this scandal, the police obstruction and the violation of the separation of powers.[59]

In order to refute the false statements of the MoD, I attach

several testimonials to my letter. In a 1994 recommendation, the director of International Operations at IBM praised the excellent way I performed my job as a technical writer at the Amsterdam headquarters.[60] A testimonial from April 2000 from the London office of Deloitte & Touche is also full of praise: 'Edwin has fitted in very well in a team comprising fourteen different nationalities and his friendly, polite and professional manner has won him many friends.'[61]

Apart from the queen, I turned to the Minister of Defence with a request for rehabilitation.[62] However, this is rejected vehemently by his Permanent Secretary on 30 October 2000.[63] The Ministry refuses to distance itself from the misleading report of the Chief of Staff of the MID who was dismissed for providing misleading information, and points to the National Ombudsman's investigation which in no way examined the military intelligence intrigues at Casema.[64] The Permanent Secretary informs me: 'No further letters on your part will be responded to.'[65]

Then in a letter a day later – to my delight – the tone is diametrically different. The Queen's Office replies on 31 October:[66] 'At the request of Her Majesty the Queen, I inform you that the Queen has received your letter of 14 October last and has placed it for consideration in the hands of the Home Secretary.' This entails that the Head of State intervenes and follows this case.

Royal intervention

With Queen Beatrix's commitment, I win my procedures against the police. After the Independent Police Complaints Commission of The Hague issues critical advice,[67] Mayor Wim Deetman of The Hague admits to being wrong. The complaints I had filed about the obstruction of my filing of a police report are upheld in its main

points on 14 December.[68] The mayor also orders his judgement to be brought to the attention of the police. The point is to 'learn lessons'.[69]

Finally, Home Secretary Klaas de Vries informs Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and yours truly by letter of these outcomes.[70]

CHAPTER 8

Reports

The legal experts assisting me in disentangling this intelligence affair each have their own network, which includes a top official in the Domestic Security Service. So, in 1999, 2000 and 2001, Lucas keeps me informed of the latest developments in the case.

In return, I provide the BVD chief in question with my account of exactly what had happened at Telesales. At the same time, I serve as a sounding board for the reconstruction the BVD is making of this affair.

My cooperation with the BVD chief begins a year after the Casema break-in; prior to this incident, I did not know who he was. The BVD official insists on not being named. His job title is not to be made public either. He also believes that given his position and status, it is preferable not being seen together. A more convincing argument is that he can protect me better if our contact remains secret. So our communication goes through Lucas.

Edwin Gilray
Reepstraat 5
2583 XE Scheveningen

Scheveningen, 22 maart 1999

Mr.

Beste

Conform ons telefoongesprek dd. 21-3-1999 stuur ik je hierbij een coderingslijst voor het maken van een afspraak in de week van 29 maart aanstaande.

Plaats		Tijd		Tijd	
H	Amsterdam	U	10.00 uur	Z	8.00 uur
J	Schiphol	T	11.00 uur	Y	8.30 uur
C	Den Haag	S	11.30 uur	X	9.00 uur
L	Rotterdam	R	12.00 uur	W	9.30 uur
K	Utrecht	Q	12.30 uur		
Z	Hilversum	P	13.00 uur		
		O	13.30 uur		
Dag		N	14.00 uur		
12	Maandag	M	14.30 uur		
11	Dinsdag	L	15.00 uur		
10	Woensdag	K	15.30 uur		
9	Donderdag	J	16.00 uur		
8	Vrijdag	I	16.30 uur		
7	Zaterdag	H	17.00 uur		
6	Zondag	G	17.30 uur		
		F	18.00 uur		
		E	18.30 uur		
		D	19.00 uur		
		C	19.30 uur		
		B	20.00 uur		
		A	20.30 uur		

Ik denk dat we (mede i.v.m. parkeergelegenheid) het beste kunnen afspreken op het meeting point van het Centraal Station van de diverse plaatsen (optie A). Andere mogelijkheden zijn bijvoorbeeld hotellobby's (optie B), bowlingcentra (C), etc.

Ik hoop dat het bovenstaande voldoet aan wat je in het telefoongesprek bedoelde.
Vriendelijke groet.

E.F. Gilray.
Tel: 06-5088 2921

Code list

I see him regularly. We also talk a lot on the phone, although we use code: Minister De Grave is dubbed my grandfather, we refer to The Hague as Amsterdam, and when it's noon we mean eight o'clock in the morning. We exchange code lists by post to keep the

meanings of names, places, and numbers secret. We also change the code from time to time so that no one can make sense of our phone calls and we keep our meetings as secret as possible.

Lucas passes on information in our talks, but in one instance – on 14 December 1999 – I receive a diskette containing a document that accurately describes some of the key points of the affair. It was drawn up at his home in collaboration with the top official. The fact that the latter did not use his work computer and that it is not an official document, suggests to me that this is a case of not playing by the book.

The BVD official recommends using the text in a letter to the Minister of Defence. However, as it is explicitly stated that such a move is entirely at my own risk, I refrain from doing so. I regret that the BVD will not openly support me.

All intelligence is provided by Lucas in a personal capacity – there are no formal links with the BVD. However, the data provided offers insight into the shadowy world of intelligence and the internal struggles that take place within. This makes the bizarre spy plots more comprehensible, which is a relief to me – I finally understand what is going on.

It becomes apparent that Ina's ambition was to return to work now that her daughters had grown. She then went to work as an undercover agent for her husband at the MoD, who sent her to the Telesales department to observe Monica.

In military hierarchy, this situation is most peculiar: a husband being his own wife's superior officer. A chain of command of this nature is not even allowed. After all, it reeks of nepotism, a form of corruption in which family members do each other favours.

Ina's infiltration at Casema was her very first mission as an intelligence officer. Before being thrown into the deep end, she had only undergone a short spy training course where she already made some embarrassing mistakes. During her training, for instance, she revealed her identity – a mistake no undercover agent should make.

According to the BVD, Ina's notes were later edited by an experienced analyst into a ten-page official report, which was handed to

a number of senior members of the Armed Forces and secret services. It was accompanied by photographs of Monica, myself and other Casema staff taken during the break-in.

I do not receive the report with the photos. This is because each copy has a secret and unique feature that would make it traceable to the recipient. In order not to cause any severe embarrassment to the BVD's top official, Lucas only explains the contents verbally in interviews lasting several hours.

The way Lucas got hold of the report was unusual. The top official had invited him to his office, but on entering he announced that he would be unavailable for the next 75 minutes and gave his exact time of return. He advised Lucas to stay in his room and read the *Spike and Suzy* comic book that was lying there.

When the top official returned, Lucas thanked him for suggesting he read the comic. With a wink, he said he found it very interesting and enlightening. The fact that Ina's intelligence report had been hidden between the pages, was not remarked upon.

With professional pride, Lucas explains that he pretended to be engrossed in the comic book while secretly reading the report, allowing the chief to deny having leaked it. That's how it works in this business, so it appears.

After having been briefed extensively on Ina's observation report, I can but conclude that Ina has kept many of her mistakes to herself. She described the events subjectively.

Lucas tells me that in her report, Ina kept asking herself how it was possible that I knew so much more about her. It is not a difficult question to answer: there had been too many slips of the tongue on her behalf, which could hardly be missed.

When Ina spoke of 'my Ad', she seemed unaware that she was revealing her husband's first name. In her report, Ina would elaborate on the difficulty she had in answering Monica's questions about her first love. According to Lucas she complained about Monica's impertinence, but she didn't mention her giving revealing answers obediently.

When Ina answered the phone with the name Van Baal, she was very apologetic. This time she was very aware that she had slipped

up. 'Oh, how silly of me,' she remarked. But there would be no trace of this lapse in her report.

According to Lucas, the fact I caught Ina making observational notes, which she then hid – turning red with embarrassment – was not recorded either. That was probably just too painful. Of course, as an agent, it is an unprecedented blunder to allow others to look at your papers, so why report it?

Ina's behaviour stood out. Her colleagues and managers at Casema distrusted her. She was 'burned', the intelligence term for being suspected of being a secret agent during an operation. Instead of reporting this mistrust, Ina chose to criticise strongly the attitude of her Telesales colleagues.

'A cheeky monkey from a low social background' is how Ina characterised me. The Domestic Security Service also says that she described me as a 'sports freak'. *This* observation is – lo and behold – true. Compliments are in order for the astuteness of this spy, who managed to alert our top generals to my trained physique, in the nick.

Ina kept a detailed record of all of Monica's breaches of state secrets, Lucas reveals. Monica, who almost begged to be heard at Casema, unwittingly managed to have her cries and lamentations about the MID and Srebrenica recorded in minute detail.

But apparently Ina never found out why Monica was sent to work in Telesales. She appears to have been kept in the dark deliberately by the intelligence community. In fact, in this business it is common for infiltrators to be denied information by their superiors – so they can observe with an open mind. It is questionable, however, whether this always yields valuable information. Lucas reports that Ina, in her discourse, wondered in vain what Monica and I were talking about in the pantry during our penetrating conversations.

Ina was also unaware that I started a relationship with Jasper. But she did notice that I never talked about having a girlfriend. In her report to the chiefs of Defence and intelligence, she included this trivial observation with the question whether I was gay or straight, Lucas said.

In her account, Ina was not certain about Jasper's sexual orientation either, in contrast to Monica's. Without nuance, she was classified as a lesbian.

It is precisely this meddling in private affairs by the MoD that infuriated the aforementioned senior BVD official.

Lucas points out that Ina was suspicious of Jasper's work in Telesales as he was the stepson of the Head of HR: was Mr Hartogs perhaps using him to keep an eye on his employees? The BVD is in the dark about the latter and wants to know what I think.

In my opinion, the suspicions about Jasper and his stepfather are misplaced. Hartogs was hardly aware of the intrigues in our small department. It is inconceivable that he trained Jasper to be a sniffer dog and then deliberately placed him in a department where two women from the MoD were to be employed later. On top of that, Jasper is a self-possessed man who won't be told what to do.

Lucas reveals that Ina got hold of the personal files of all the Telesales staff and used those against us. However, I was told that she had made an exception for herself.

Incidentally, the antecedents requested would hardly be relevant to this affair, and Lucas is keeping this privacy-sensitive information to himself. It is only vaguely suggested that there is a connection between the IRT affair and a former Casema colleague, whose name Lucas withholds for security reasons at the insistence of the BVD chief. Indeed, what this person had to endure was a very serious matter.

The IRT affair is a Dutch mega-scandal in which the police, the judiciary and the military police collaborated with hardcore criminals to let through drugs in order to bust major gangs. In the process, undercover agents were tempted by large sums of money. The fact that this had led to serious derailments was not just something I had read in the newspapers – Jasper had also told me about it. After all, our colleague Julia had told him about the dangerous situation she had found herself in. Lucas explains that it was pure coincidence that the person in question worked at Casema. Nevertheless, it was a coincidence that sparked the MID's interest in our department.

Also, Lucas confirms the suspicion that Ina conspired with the burglar at Casema. When I was absent on 7 July 1998, the personnel pass of our supervisor was stolen by Ina. Allegedly, she reported having stolen the access card for the photographer, who needed it to enter the premises.

A week later, Ina refused to join us for coffee in the pantry during our break. There was a reason for this, as we can now see: she needed to stay out of sight of the photographer who was about to invade our workspace. So at 8:08 PM that day, only Monica's infiltration was recorded for posterity. According to Lucas, the burglar was equipped with a special camera that also took infrared photographs. He used it to take pictures of Monica and me in the pantry during her attempt to recruit me as an analyst.

Using the stolen pass, he left the premises and joined his accomplice in their car.

Later that evening, around 9:30 PM, I overheard Ina having a private conversation over the phone. Nervously, she reported that everything was going well and that the video-recorder could be switched on. The word 'video-recorder' turned out to be a code here: upon hearing this, the photographer knew that the way was clear for him to break in for the second time that night.

After 'switching on the video-recorder', Ina left for the toilet. This time the photographer walked past Telesales and across the floor of the Internet Helpdesk with his camera using his flashlight. Lucas comments that the latter had been a misunderstanding; the Internet Helpdesk did not need to be in the picture.

The mistake prompted a brave helpdesk employee to chase the intruder. Nathan had also noticed that the stranger was signalling to Ina. Apparently, she had not stayed in the toilet long enough to avoid the burglar.

From a legal point of view, Ina is not an accomplice to burglary, but to sneaking in – because in this case there had been no burglary damage. In addition, she could also be prosecuted for the theft of the access card. (It's only since 2002 that intelligence officers are allowed by law to commit crimes in exceptional circumstances.)

The police were called and Ina was immediately suspected of involvement in industrial espionage. This frightened her, as did my questions about her military spouse. I saw her tremble several times.

In her report, she later described how she tried to keep me at a distance by sitting at another desk island. But our department was too small to hide. Lucas reveals that the MoD then decided to sabotage my temporary position: pressure was put on Casema, at the highest level, to let me go. Next, the company terminated the contract with Randstad without notifying the employment agency of the reason for the termination.

Consultant Sander was downright furious. He raised the possibility of filing a lawsuit against Casema and informed Randstad's head office about the strange way in which the contract had been terminated. Supervisor Marlies was overwhelmed and could not make sense of my departure. She had tears in her eyes and assured me that Casema had been very happy with me. Ina, on the other hand, did not seem surprised. She said out loud on the work floor that I had been fired.

Lucas confirms that Ina stayed with her aunt during the week for her temporary job. He also mentions the quay close to the Palace Gardens in The Hague, but adds that she only stayed there for a short time. Next, a place to sleep was arranged for her in the Frederick Barracks, where she also worked on her notes.

If one is an undercover agent living near Alkmaar and working in Delft, staying at a military base in The Hague is convenient as it saves a lot of travelling time. However, it does come at a risk: you will be in the spotlight of the other agents being there.

Lucas says that Monica almost bumped into Ina in a mess hall there at the time: Ina was having lunch, when Monica suddenly came in. Ina was scared to death. This incident between two Casema colleagues, who were also secretly each other's intelligence colleagues, ended well for Ina only just.

Ina went on to describe other lapses in her report: Monica recognised the intruding photographer as he walked around Casema's premises. This was a BVD employee called Jan. Monica – who

travelled a lot for the MID and had many contacts – is said to have met him before.

Only now do I understand why Monica was so shocked when Jan took our photograph: it probably dawned on her that an intelligence trick was being played on her.

Lucas goes on to report on this operation: after the break-in, Monica came under fire in a confrontation at the MoD, where all the breaches of state secrets that had been registered by Ina were used against her. At the same time, Jan's photos were used as leverage. Whether Monica's Marine Colonel – whose name is never revealed – was allowed to order her infiltration is highly debatable.

During her interrogation, no mention was made of the fact that it was Ina who had been secretly watching her. According to Lucas, Ina reported in her findings that Monica only distrusted her for a short time. After I had revealed that Ina's husband worked for the MoD, she would indeed have been able to regain Monica's trust again.

Not knowing that it was Ina who had betrayed her to the MoD, Monica, being suspicious, began to distrust others in Telesales. She tried to keep various colleagues at bay and even ordered Jasper not to get in touch with me again. This was while he and I were lovers, but she wasn't aware of that. Jasper did not want to draw attention to himself at work because of his affair with a former colleague and had only mentioned that he was still seeing me.

Monica was also suspicious of Jasper. She reproached him for not telling her earlier that he was the stepson of the most senior HR officer. That bothered Jasper quite a bit, especially as Monica did not make it clear to him why that troubled her so much.

Our new colleague Mark was also distrusted. On one of his first evenings at Casema, he took Irene, a single Hindustani colleague, home in his car after work. His charm had not failed to impress her. The next evening, the warm-blooded woman told her colleagues that she had fallen in love with Mark. Irene spoke very highly of him: in addition to his work at Casema, he supposedly also worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She had known him for some

time from a Surinamese party and said she was now having an affair with this married man.

In Irene's opinion, it was better to confess the romance herself, in order to avoid gossip in the department. She had also told Anna face-to-face. Anna was not happy about the affair at work, Irene said, but she accepted it and appreciated her honesty.

Why did this Foreign Office employee join our department? Monica wasn't the only one who wondered. Lucas explains that after Ina found out about Mark's government job through her intelligence contacts, she suspected him in her report of being a fellow agent. However, she would have remained in the dark about his motives.

When I asked Mark at Casema about his work at Foreign Affairs, he was shocked. In a voice that betrayed a certain amount of fear, he wanted to know how I had found out about that. After I explained that Irene had divulged it, he confirmed that he worked there, but asked me to keep it a secret. After all, he 'didn't want to draw unnecessary attention to himself because of this job'. I didn't understand. Working at this prestigious ministry is not something to be ashamed of.

When we bumped into each other again after the break-in, I asked him once more about his work at the Foreign Office. He replied that he had been given time off during the summer holidays so he could work at Casema during the day through temp agency Teleprofs. This way, he took the opportunity to find out more about the intrusion.

That Mark was an agent is something the BVD's top official has denied strenuously. Nevertheless, the combination of employers remains questionable. It is conceivable that a curious BVD chief might have wondered what those two Defence women were up to at Casema. To find out, he could have had another government employee infiltrate our department. Keeping such an operation secret was only a matter of deploying someone nobody in the intelligence community would recognise as an agent.

According to this hypothesis, the fact that Mark got burned so quickly can be explained by his failing to keep his professional and

personal lives separate as he seduced a female beauty during his first week – like a real-life James Bond. For some time, Irene had known him. In admiration of her new lover, she revealed his background at the Ministry, after which everyone was talking about it.

That Mark worked in the Foreign Office had not escaped Jasper's attention. Monica and my boyfriend had been talking about it before they fell out. Jasper found the Foreign Office job remarkable, but did not believe Mark was an agent – that seemed too far-fetched. Monica, however, would be less convinced of Mark's innocence. After I told Monica that Ina's husband worked for the MoD, Ina reportedly tried to divert Monica's attention away from her husband. I learn from the BVD that Ina revealed to Monica that Mark worked at the Foreign Office in order to make him a suspect.

No one trusts anyone anymore, Monica moaned about her secret service work. Could this paranoia be so intense that Mark, at the behest of the BVD, infiltrated Casema in order to keep an eye on Monica and Ina's Defence operations?

The BVD top official may deny that Mark was a secret agent. But that does not make it any less suspicious that Mark, as a civil servant, took up a flexitime position in the business world during government office hours, asking questions to get to the bottom of an espionage case that was compromising fellow civil servants working at the MID.

It is also worth mentioning that Mark was annoyed at not being able to keep his Foreign Office background a secret. He was afraid of drawing attention to himself because of this job, he confessed to me. But why? If he was just a casual witness to Monica and Ina's misbehaviour, why was he acting so cautiously? Was his role as a witness perhaps a set-up?

Taking it all in, I realise that Monica, Ina and Mark worked at Casema through the Teleprofs employment agency. I learn from Lucas that one of the consultants at the Teleprofs branch at Noordeinde, The Hague, was incidentally and covertly performing services for the Dutch intelligence services. According to Lucas, this consultant helped agents to infiltrate Casema.

Teleprofs did not pay its temps an evening allowance or travel

expenses. Despite their government pay checks, Monica, Ina and Mark were willing to be underpaid temps. Almost like love-birds, they perched next to each other in the small Telesales department. This way, the Teleprofs temps – some of whom were also on civil servant salaries – forced their Randstad colleagues out of business.

While infiltrating, agents should try to operate as quietly as possible. Their behaviour should not in any way be conspicuous or influence the events they are observing. Since the three failed miserably at this, the obvious course of action would have been to withdraw them quietly. Nevertheless, the decision was made to sideline yours truly, an unwelcome witness.

A few months after MID Chief of Staff Wielinga issued his misleading report on Monica's interrogation, the Minister of Defence dismissed him for deception. Having taken note of the content of Ina's findings, I realise that this report also misleads the MoD. Ergo: both reports are subjective. Monica and Ina both justify themselves with lies and denounce others. For example, Monica is mostly criticised by Ina, which I firmly believe does not do justice to Monica's noble opposition to the culture of cover-ups in the MID and the withholding of the Srebrenica photo roll from the Minister.

Now that the BVD has approached me to help clarify this affair, I decide to prepare an impartial and nuanced counter-report. Wasn't I asked to assess the security situation on the ground for deployed Armed Forces personnel?

In my observation report, I focus first on Ina and Monica, and later on Mark. For the period after my departure, I rely on information that was passed on to me secretly by Jasper. He showed little interest in Mark and Ina. But he talked a lot to Monica. This provides valuable intelligence about her position in the military secret service, as well as the photo prints that turn out to have been developed after all.

CHAPTER 9

Reconstruction

The information I receive is not limited to the intelligence operations carried out at Casema. In 1999, 2000 and 2001, government officials also brief me on other aspects of this military scandal. This will help to answer questions such as: how did a company in Delft become the battleground of an internal conflict within the Dutch espionage sector? And why am I getting involved in this?

With the intelligence gathered, this intricate affair can be understood better. From it, the following reconstruction can be made:

As early as 3 April 1998, I attracted the attention of the Navy during the information meeting. Lieutenant Commander Hamaken became suspicious when I made notes about the occupational hazards faced by military personnel.

He may not have realised sufficiently that candidates want to prepare properly. For my part, I was unaware that note-taking is sensitive in the Armed Forces. Still, I don't think I did anything wrong. The fact that a soldier is expected to carry out his military duty in spite of danger to his life is a sacrifice that deserves attention.

Lucas explains that my serious approach at the naval barracks raised fears that I might be an undercover journalist. It was this suspicion that is at the root of a series of rather bungled actions on the part of Dutch intelligence. Only after two Defence women became involved in this story and I was eventually confronted with their conflicting testimonies, I decided to write down my experiences.

Hamaken had given assurances that background checks would not be conducted until after the selection process was complete.

Instead, I was subjected to an investigation without the Head of the MID having received the necessary authorization from me. According to Lucas, there was nothing about me in the MID archives at the time. There were, on the other hand, notes in my BVD file which would be passed to the MoD.

Lucas explains that, as a result, my past work as an escort led to discussion at Recruitment & Selection. While the BVD escort project had to remain secret and the MID was only allowed to evaluate my antecedents during a security screening, scandal-sensitive stories took on a life of their own.

It was precisely because of my stature that I was approached to work for the BVD as an escort. There was a lot of praise for my clean and healthy appearance, which was in stark contrast to that of many drug-using prostitutes. However, when I applied to the Navy, they looked at my qualities in a completely different way. Behind my back, I was judged on having been an escort, while the BVD had been appreciative of it.

By contracting elite escorts to act as 'hostesses' and 'hosts' for high-ranking foreign guests, the State of the Netherlands tore open a Pandora's box of ethical questions. However, this is not taken into consideration. Instead of looking at their own conduct, intelligence officers prefer to focus on the lives of others.

When I tell Uncle Frans about this unsavoury interest in other people's private affairs, he starts talking about his adolescence. In the 1950s, he became friends with José Ruiz de Arana y Bauer, the Duke of Baena y de San Lucar la Mayor, who was the Spanish Ambassador to the Netherlands.[71] Several times a week, the ambassador's private driver would pick him up from his parents' home to take him to the embassy for dinner.

Duke of Baena & Frans

The duke supported Frans in his

painting career and introduced him to the distinguished guests at these dinners. It was in this way that my uncle came to know, among others, Prince Bernhard: Queen Juliana's husband. At the time, he was the Inspector General of the Army and Navy.

After Frans started working for Naval Intelligence as a draftee, he was questioned regularly about these embassy dinners. He also had to relay all sorts of things when De Baena and he were invited to other embassies. 'Without realising it, you're already caught up in it,' he says of the espionage work he had to do, while still under-aged.

Frans says that the MARID wanted to know about the diplomats' political views. Even Prince Bernhard, who according to Frans was only chasing women, was denied privacy. The Royal Navy looked for weaknesses and recorded his observations. For instance, the secret service was intrigued as soon as he got to know about drug use, because the dignitaries who committed these indiscretions could be 'nudged' because of this.

In particular, they hoped to learn about diplomats' inappropriate sexual contacts. They were especially keen to hear about homosexual encounters.

The rewards for his intelligence work were plentiful: a large office room, luxury holidays in foreign cities, fancy hotels and dinners – it seemed endless. Frans, known in the Navy as 'the handsome Dutch-Indonesian' because of his mixed blood, enjoyed all the privileges. Cognac and cigars! He couldn't have had it any better as a sailor.

However, Frans was annoyed by the constant questioning. He particularly resented having to betray diplomats who could be blackmailed over their conduct. Mind you, in the 1950s it was illegal for an adult male to have sex with a man under the age of 21. Diplomats who slept with Frans were committing a sex crime.

At one point, when the MARID asked him to have sex with a certain diplomat, he refused. In his perception, man-on-man love has nothing at all to do with blemishes or immoral behaviour. In his eyes, sex is about love. Why would you want to deceive men who give themselves to you? Frans confides that he secretly protected

several people from his superiors. He kept many sensitive matters to himself.

De Baena eventually learned of his intelligence activities. There was a great deal of consternation when the ambassador's limousine passed by the MARID one day on its way to pick him up. In the end, however, my uncle managed to cool everything down. However, this meant covertly passing on information about the MARID to his Spanish friend.

When the MARID offers him a permanent job at the end of his military service, Frans turns it down – he finds spying and things way too confusing. He enters the Royal Academy of Arts and graduates cum laude in 1960.[72] He is only up for an assignment occasionally.

As for my own adolescence, in 1992 I was assured by the BVD's project organiser that there was an occasional need for erotic entertainment late at night among our country's distinguished guests. By providing its own escort girls and boys, the BVD was able to fulfil these wishes, according to the plan presented.

In the meantime, however, I have come to doubt whether the BVD was really all that concerned about the foreign diplomats. Does our country show its natural hospitality by providing girls and boys for amorous pleasure? Was the government providing prostitute students purely as a service? That the sexual encounters were secretly paid for, organised and hence more or less set up by the BVD should have given me pause for thought at the time.

Little did I know then that a 'honey trap' is a classic method used by intelligence services worldwide. This involves a spy agency seducing a foreign diplomat into having extramarital sex, which is secretly photographed or filmed. After that, the diplomat is confronted with the compromising pictures. Secret services have learnt that sometimes it is not even necessary for their target to be actually blackmailed. The fear of being blackmailed sometimes already makes him comply.

I remember well how, in 1992, the intention was to find high class escort boys and girls, in the interest of discretion. This rendered existing escort agencies in The Hague of little use. Should

'common' agencies be used, diplomats could potentially be blackmailed by those. The genuine concern with which these fears were expressed suggests that not only the escorts were misled at the time. I suspect that the operation itself may also have been arranged under false pretences.

In retrospect, it is clear that the escort project would have been difficult to arrange should it have been disclosed that the BVD intended to use it – by secretly taking on the role of pimp – to blackmail diplomats. If this had been brought to my attention at the time, I would have distanced myself from the project at once.

By insisting on the importance of discretion towards diplomats, the project seemed much safer. Organisers and escorts were able to take part in this secret 'security project' with a clear conscience.

The work, as it was presented to me, appealed to me at the time. It seemed to be quite an honour to be able to provide a pleasant evening for high-ranking foreign guests on behalf of the government. I would be well rewarded for the expenditure of my sexual energy and my discretion. I was to be treated very respectfully for the confidential services, or so I was led to believe.

At the time, I was focused on the pleasures of the business and did not consider that sex could be used to blackmail escort clients. That grim thought was too far from my mind.

In my naivety, I did not realise that secret services are cunning enough to manoeuvre diplomats into compromising positions by seducing them with hired escorts posing as hostesses (or hosts). Nor did it occur to me that in this scenario the agents would be so indifferent as not to inform the escorts of their shady intentions. That girls and boys who get involved with the BVD, left or right, are exposed to a world where violence and murder are not shunned: no, I did not learn that at school.

Only years later did I find out that many prostitutes employed by the KGB had been killed in the past.[73] The Navy told me honestly that a soldier risks dying for his country, but when the BVD set their sights on me as an escort, I was not told. Moreover, in 1992 I knew little about the methods used by spy agencies to keep their operations secret. So I missed the point that the whole discretion

narrative was a perfect cover cunningly used to legitimise this highly controversial project.

Somewhat stupidly, I did not realise at the time that I was being tricked with pretexts: what young adult would distrust his government when it flatters him and appeals to his integrity and class? Who would ever have thought that Dutch intelligence would violate the very discretion that it professed to uphold? Who could have expected this betrayal?

My own escapades, no matter how trivial, were to be assessed with the utmost prudence for security risks in a screening under Dutch law. The MID had to keep scandal-sensitive matters to itself. Nor is it its job to pass moral judgement. Only one thing mattered, Lucas said: whether or not I could be blackmailed because of my escort past.

In this context, I would like to refer to the mentality of President Sukarno of Indonesia. During a flight to Moscow, the head of state was seduced by young Russian women who secretly worked as prostitutes for the Soviet Union, *Pravda* writes.[74] Sukarno then invited the women to his Moscow hotel room, where a grand orgy ensued. However, two hidden cameras had been set up there and were filming the festivities.

Afterwards the KGB showed Sukarno the porn film he had starred in. The Russians assumed that, in any case, the Muslim president would not want the footage to be released because it would embarrass him. But this honey trap turned out different than expected.

Instead, Sukarno said he was honoured by the film. He refused to be pressured and asked the KGB for copies so that he could show the film in cinemas in Indonesia. The statesman declared that the Indonesian people would be very proud of him when they saw how passionately he had made love to the lascivious Russian women.

The story goes that when Sukarno returned to Jakarta, he showed the footage to his entire cabinet. In doing so, he exposed the treachery of the Russians, proved that he could not be blackmailed and set an example right away.

In the same way, I have proved that I cannot be blackmailed. After Monica told at Casema behind my back that I did not dare to

talk about my past, I took the presidential route and confided in the national ombudsman. That I once decided to comply with the far-reaching wishes of my country – is that something *I* should be ashamed of?

If an official security screening had been carried out, which it was not, there would have been no reason to withhold a Statement of No Objection from me. If the MID had still been of the opinion that I was a target for blackmail, I could have appealed to the Minister of Defence. And in the event of a negative decision, there was still the possibility of going to court. A judge might then have asked why someone who was approached for a BVD project because of his integrity, which should have eliminated the possibility of blackmail, was rejected by the same government as open to blackmail.

One thing is clear at any rate: the assumption that I am gay met with resistance from the Marine Corps. Lucas explains that this elite corps rejects all gay candidates in the selection process and keeps it secret because it violates the constitutional ban on discrimination.

A senior Human Resources officer at the MoD, whom I met, also explains this policy to me. When he declares his love for me, I warn him and tell him that I have experienced untold hassles after applying for a job with his employer. In response, he says he has a mate at the MID who handles integrity issues. He will sort it out – all I have to do is provide my official personal details.

On the morning after 11 September 2001, the officer reports to my home in The Hague before going to the Ministry for urgent consultations that day, regarding the attacks in the United States. Dressed in uniform, he enlightens me as to the illegal nature of the personnel policy, which is used only by the Marine Corps. He also says that Commander-in-Chief of the Army Ad van Baal is a personal friend of his, who is respected by his men because he always stands up for them.

To sum up, two well-informed insiders independently reveal that the Marine Corps does not allow gays to serve. In addition, both of them confirm explicitly that I was rejected due to fallacy.

Lucas says that senior MoD officials are aware of the discriminatory policy: they were informed of this in secret in 2000, when the Dutch Equal Treatment Commission investigated the overt exclusion of women in the Marine Corps.[75] The Minister, it becomes clear, appears to tolerate discrimination against women and homosexuals – on the understanding that women are openly discriminated against and homosexuals are covertly discriminated against.

One might wonder what these marines are so worried about. Why do they classify men by sexual preference? Requiring everyone to be of the same sexual orientation in the interest of camaraderie is unheard of. After all, the Corps' right to exist as part of the Armed Forces is to defend our freedom and the rule of law that goes with it.

What becomes clear is that the selection psychologists have been assigned an impossible task. After all, they had to twist and turn to come up with an excuse for rejecting any homosexual candidate from joining this corps.

How is this to be resolved? Well, if the problem lies with the Marine Corps not being able to deal with gay recruits, the obvious explanation is that they cannot handle the candidate. This reason for the rejection may be rather embarrassing for the elite corps, but there is a grain of truth in it.

During the interview with psychologist Strijbosch, several questions indicated that my past had been unearthed. This left me feeling somewhat cornered. Despite this, I did not reveal anything about my past, which should not have been poked into. In other words, I didn't break.

My character being 'too strong' was reason for the psychologist Van der Pol to reject me. He then went on to speak about discrimination against homosexuals within the Corps and his frustrations with the application process. In his eyes, his military colleagues were softies who could not hold their own. This assessment squares with the suspicion expressed while taking notes during the information meeting.

That might have been the end of the story, except that it was this strong character that the MID then recognised as an asset.

Lucas explains that my work experience and worldly lifestyle made me sought after. Indeed, intelligence agencies have a preference for personnel who can move easily in different environments.

The latter was confirmed years later by a friend from the night-life scene. His background in the sex industry was well-received by the intelligence branch of the MoD. He said he was undergoing espionage training there, the secret location of which he also revealed.

My interest in international politics was also something that appealed to the MID at the time. Lucas reminds me that I once visited the library of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to do research for a paper on the nuclear arms race in the Middle East.[76] This was true; but I had not told him of it. The visit put me in the cross-hairs of the BVD at the time, and they made a note of it.

Meanwhile, there was a severe shortage of analysts in the MID's Intelligence Department. This is clear from the report *Nieuw Evenwicht* ('New Balance') of November 1998, in which the MID is examined.[77] Looking for background information on the MID, I was surprised to be able to pick up a copy at the Defence Information Centre in The Hague straight away.

The report paints a negative picture of the Intelligence Department.[78] This was the department where Monica worked and her frustrations ran high.

> Regarding the essential importance of the political-strategic intelligence perspective, the Intelligence Department ought to be the core of the overall MID intel turnout. ... In practice, especially in the perception of employees, the department seems to be isolated. Despite the importance of the Office of Strategic Analysis, only 13 out of 21 analyst posts are filled. This leads to severe frustration among staff, as it is seen as an expression of a lack of attention and leadership on the part of the MID command. This is underlined by the turnover of managers and staff in the department.

In short, there is a clear need to increase the number of analysts in the Intelligence Department. The MoD could have simply invited

me to come back for another visit. In a face-to-face meeting, they could have explained to me that they would prefer to see me working as an analyst rather than as an officer.

In Delft, nevertheless, the MID resorted to 'approaching' me, as secret services call it when they contact someone for recruitment. And so it was that Monica started moonlighting at Casema during MID working hours to persuade me to join the MID. However, Recruitment & Selection was not informed. After all, it was a secret assignment.

Meanwhile, Recruitment & Selection was stuck with yours truly. I found to be unacceptable the way in which my application to join the Navy was rejected. Indeed, by assuming that I would believe the far-fetched reason for my being rejected – that is, that my character was too strong – the Navy seemed to underestimate me. As a military man, I wanted to contribute to the defence of freedom and democracy and also to prove my manhood for myself in the world. The fact that the Marine Corps did not know how to deal with homosexuals was not my problem. As Recruitment & Selection had made clear, the problem of adaptation lay with the Corps.

After pointing out to Recruitment & Selection that, regarding the combat job, I refused to accept the cowardly assessment that the drill sergeants would not be able to break me, they came up with an excuse out of thin air. All of a sudden, they shifted the problem of adjustment onto me and accused me of being a drug user. And this was while the MID went to great lengths secretly to recruit me for the sensitive position of analyst.

It is obvious: the MoD had become entangled in its own lies. The aforementioned report describes the chaos at the MID on page 57: 'The allocation of tasks is [...] unclear. Within the current MID, this means asking the impossible with regards to internal coordination.'

Digging deeper, it turns out that it is not unusual to approach potential intelligence officers in their own environment. In the late 1990s, Lucas explains, this happened more often. They were approached in the field by intelligence officers, for example, at their place of work or at an organisation of which they were a member.

This approach had the added benefit of observing potential

employees in their natural surroundings. You could see what kind of qualities or traits they possessed before they were invited to join the BVD or MID.

One disadvantage: This way of recruiting is extremely cumbersome. According to Lucas, the method had gotten out of hand on a previous occasion. The infiltration into the office of another potential candidate caused such a stir that it confused the candidate and he did not enter government service either.

After the out-of-control infiltration at Casema, this controversial recruitment method was abandoned, Lucas said. Quite a few candidates found the approach extremely intrusive. Using an undercover agent was far too heavy a tool for its intended purpose.

The BVD describes Monica as a Scheveningen doppelgänger of Martina Navrátilová, working in the Intelligence Department of the MID. For years she carried out minor observation missions; she was used to infiltrate organisations.

This information comes as no surprise. Years ago, she had taken painting lessons from my uncle in order to ask him about his diplomatic contacts. She infiltrated Casema just as easily – which wasn't vital to state security either.

It isn't sensible to try and recruit someone when you behaved improperly with one of his family members in the past, while on an intelligence job as well. This may have been overlooked in the preparations for Monica's operation because Uncle Frans and I have different surnames.

Far more interesting than Monica's attempt to recruit me, is the fact that Ina was sent to Casema at the same time. Ina's infiltration served a bigger purpose. It is true there was a severe shortage of analysts in the Intelligence Department; however, my recruitment was simply a pretext to get Monica to infiltrate a business environment and put her in a vulnerable position.

Lucas points out Monica was more or less being set up – I was used as a prop for that purpose. That I was dragged in unwittingly, created a smokescreen. And the fact that Casema has nothing to do with the MoD added to the confusion.

Over time, the MID received several complaints about the way Monica was working, says Lucas. First, a little more background:

An undercover agent should have a new cover story at the ready time and again. At the behest of his country, he must constantly spin new lies to cover himself and deceive those around him. These changing roles have clearly had an impact on Monica. She tried various Casema colleagues as a sounding board to vent her frustrations. She seemed tired and fed up with all the intrigue. Maybe she was overworked too. And so we experienced something very unusual at Telesales: Monica complaining that her intelligence work was driving her totally crazy.

Over time, she became less sharp. While Monica still kept her assignment at my uncle's studio to herself, at Casema she openly dropped all pretences. Everyone was told that she worked at the MID, and that photographic evidence of the Srebrenica tragedy was being withheld there.

Lucas explains why it is so important that her employer should have been able to have complete confidence in Monica: apart from observation assignments, she also had tasks that involved getting her hands on highly sensitive information. This included working as a liaison to the *bestuursdriehoek* ('administrative triangle') in The Hague. This meant that as MID liaison officer she maintained contact with this municipal advisory body, which consists of the municipality, the police and the judiciary. In this capacity, she came across documents from Mayor Deetman, Chief of Police Wiarda and Chief Public Prosecutor Van Gend – the three leading figures who later hindered the prosecution of Monica for defamation!

Monica secretly made copies of sensitive information from The Hague triangle, Lucas said. This was possible because she had to move them from one place to another.

According to Lucas, in the same way Monica had collected highly sensitive documents, regarding the smuggling of hard drugs from the Caribbean, by members of the Marine Corps.

The Public Prosecutor announced the arrest of two marines on this charge on 10 July 1998. They were in the very Coast Guard team that was supposed to be fighting this particular crime in these

waters. Two days earlier, their last caper, they had hidden 125 kilos of Colombian coke in military duffel bags that were being transported by Orion aircraft from the Netherlands Antilles to the naval air base at Valkenburg in the Netherlands. They were discovered by an MoD mole who infiltrated the drug syndicate. The Public Prosecutor's Office also conducted observations and tapped phones.[79]

After the smuggling gang was busted, hard drugs became scarce in the Netherlands. In the newspaper for the homeless in The Hague, which I read occasionally, addicts complained about their hopeless situation. With the drying up of the Antilles route, it was difficult to acquire narcotics. In addition, the price of cocaine, which was now only put on the market in small quantities by drug mules, had risen considerably. This news from the lower depths of society seems to indicate that marines who had received a Certificate of No Objection from the MID were responsible for a significant portion of the cocaine supply in the Netherlands.

Many more civil servants – from the top to the bottom – were involved in the drug trade than has been revealed, Lucas explained. Moreover, I am told that, in order to protect their interests, MP Maarten van Traa, who was investigating the case, was killed deliberately in a car accident in 1997. His brakes had been tampered with radiographically – they jammed just as he drove into a traffic jam, according to my BVD contact.

(Years later, the former Head of the BVD, Arthur Docters van Leeuwen, would write in his memoirs that he did not believe it was an accident: 'The police found nothing to suggest that his car had been sabotaged, but I still have a bad feeling about it; it seemed too coincidental to me.'[80])

Lucas says there were fears that Monica would leak the files she had copied to the press. However, thanks to the fact that she was under observation in Delft, it did not occur.

In tears, Monica had complained that her Marine colonel had been sacked by the Head of the MID and that she wanted to leave the MoD herself. Lucas has a different explanation: with Ina's secret testimony of Monica's violations of state secrets and the photos of the latter's infiltration, Monica and her rebellious superior

would have been put under pressure and forced to leave.

This way, opposition against the Srebrenica cover-up would have been quashed. The BVD top official, who monitored this affair so closely, revealed that he saw this as a kind of power grab within Dutch intelligence.

Incidentally, Ina did not make it in the intelligence sector. Lucas notes that her first undercover job, which caused so much unrest, was also her last. Besides Monica and her Marine colonel, the operation would have cost Ina her job as well.

The scandal not only affected Casema's management and employees, but also claimed victims. Jasper's stepfather, a kind and hard-working man, lost his high position as a result. For Anna, being confronted with a break-in by spies in the department she managed, it was also an unpleasant experience.

Lucas reveals that during this confusing period, my phone was tapped by the MID. After I left Casema, Jasper and I were on the phone a lot, and we talked regularly about the situation there and about this secret service. The content of these conversations would have worried the MID. For example, on 4 September 1998, I told Jasper that the recruitment operation at Casema was used in a power struggle between generals. It appears the MID had no clue as to how I knew that, since I had neglected to say in that particular private conversation that it was only a suspicion that had spontaneously occurred to me at that moment.

Other calls also seem to have led to a certain amount of paranoia at the MID. For example, MP Gerrit Valk called me in late August 1998 to arrange a meeting after I had written to him on Uncle Frans' advice. Apparently, the MID was hugely shocked by this: Valk specialises in military policy and was concerned with Srebrenica.

What the MID did not know at the time is that, while at the parliament building, subsequently I had a confidential conversation with a member of Valk's staff, about the situation in a museum in Leiden. This specific appointment had not been about the obscuring of sensitive photographs, but about the obscuring of artefacts.[81]

I had never spoken to Lucas about my contact with Valk before. The fact that he mentioned the mild panic this caused in military circles, indicates that my phone was indeed being tapped. As far as this phone call is concerned, Valk was also bugged. This is disturbing, as his duties as an MP include oversight of the MoD, which in turn should have no oversight of MPs.

Lucas explains that over the course of many months, my phone calls were processed into wiretap reports. Even long private conversations with friends about topics such as sports, dating and sex appear to have been typed up word for word by audio editors. After that, all the chatter is supposed to have been studied by analysts. Instead of being concerned with state security, they appear to have monitored meticulously the joyful lives of a few young men.

My garbage bags were also secretly taken and rifled through, according to Lucas. From those, it is easy to deduce that I don't smoke, drink or take drugs. In addition, the gloved person sifting through the smelly mess must have been able to tell from the packaging that my beef burgers were from discounter Aldi.

If the MID had wanted to know my opinion regarding this spying affair, all they had to do was ask. It would have provided them with more relevant information.

I am frank by nature. In Uncle Frans' salon, I learnt the value of people approaching each other with an open mind. From bricklayer to princess,[82] from monk to call girl, from clown to general: the social status of the guests was of little importance, and their work was not judged as good or bad. This live-and-let-live mentality I adopted.

The MID had a hard time pigeonholing me, according to Lucas. Defence intelligence was under the misapprehension that due to my modest wages and social status, my network couldn't possibly be extensive. It puzzled them how I was able to get in touch with the BVD and unravel the ins and outs of their operation. Add to this a considerable amount of suspicion – not uncommon in the espionage industry – and it is clear there has been a great deal of speculation about my motives for wanting to join the Navy.

One of the hypotheses focused on the smuggling of drugs by

marines. According to this crazy story, I applied to the Marine Corps to infiltrate – mind you – on behalf of a rival drug gang on the highly profitable trafficking route controlled by the Marines.

In talks with Lucas, we express our suspicion that this theory originated from another tapped call misinterpreted by the MID. Before I hooked up with Jasper, I once dated a naughty Antillean. An over-zealous analyst might have promptly linked me to his rogue circle of friends, after which, on paper, I would have connections with an Antillean gang.

Another theory is that I applied to the Marine Corps with the audacious plan of exposing gay discrimination. The fact that I was supported by a top gay rights lawyer after my rejection, supports this story. But that is not true either. Call me naive, but prior to my application, I did not expect to be discriminated against by the Armed Forces.

The main purpose of my complaint to Ombudsman Oosting was to clarify some confusing issues. But it made Monica jealous, says Lucas. She reportedly felt snubbed in her ambition to become a whistle-blower and lied during her interrogation.

Lucas points out that the MID had made a secret agreement with Monica to support her if she discredited me. He insists that MID Major De Ruyter conspired with Monica to make the false statement.

In addition, Recruitment & Selection also made a false statement to Oosting, Lucas confirms. Contrary to Permanent Secretary Barth's letter of 2 March 1999, Recruitment & Selection was said to have been informed in advance of my background check, as became clear to me immediately during the psychological interview.

If the National Ombudsman had done his job properly, he would have exposed the lies. Unfortunately, he did not show his investigative prowess. Although, according to the BVD, the MoD was asked why an MID officer was sent to Casema, the Ombudsman was provided with the vague reply it was a state secret. As far as the Ombudsman was concerned, that was the end of the matter.

A state secret is information which could endanger a country, should it end up in the wrong hands. Is the reason for Monica's

deployment really a secret, the disclosure of which would jeopardise the safety of us all?

That is not the case. If it had come to light that Monica had infiltrated Casema to recruit me, the MID would have suffered a backlash over her bogus report.

A few weeks after I called in lawyer Gerard Spong, the Head of the MID and his deputy both lost their jobs. According to Lucas, Minister De Grave decided to dismiss them not only because they withheld a report on right-wing extremist behaviour among Dutchbat veterans. Reproduced here, is the aforementioned Word document from the BVD top official and Lucas:

> The MID withheld the report of [Ina] from the Minister of Defence. Only in July 1999 would it come into his possession. Partly as a result of this report, on 13 July 1999, the Minister of Defence held an in-depth interview with the Head of the MID, General H.J. Vanderwijer, and MID Chief of Staff, Mr R. Wielinga. Minister De Grave is furious with the MID command. The discrimination against homosexuals, the forbidden infiltrations, the withheld report, the revelations about the Srebrenica photos, the tribal struggle within the MID, etc., convince him that the MID needs to be reorganised more thoroughly than already planned.
>
> The Minister of Defence strongly criticises the fact that the investigation by the MID Chief of Staff was sent on his behalf, on 2 March 1999, for which he [in casu, the Minister] could have been prosecuted. After all, this investigation of [Monica] contained pertinent lies, and the MID top brass was aware of this. Minister De Grave deems it unacceptable that the MID command misled him and defended [Monica]. As a result, the Head of the MID and his Chief of Staff decide to resign.

In the press, De Grave spoke only of the report on right-wing extremism, which was withheld. No mention was made of Ina's report. By not mentioning my name at all, the MoD was protecting my privacy, Lucas said. However, not having been consulted

myself, I doubt whether my interests were taken into account.

It is no less surprising to learn that the Defence leadership has given me a moniker. In their vernacular I am referred to as Guillotine, instead of Giltay, in this case referring to the 'severed heads' of the two MID executives.

No mean feat perhaps, but upon being informed of this by the BVD, I do not jump with joy. The message is surreal, as I am not vengeful and have not taken up the hatchet against the Defence Organisation. It is not me that caused the heads to roll; the Head of the MID and his Chief of Staff fell on their own sword.

In principle, what I was concerned with was clarification: the point of the whole affair seems to have been to set up Monica. She was sent to recruit me, which was a trap. As a Dutch citizen, you don't expect to be confronted with such elaborate scheming.

Only now do I realise that my country has a lot to hide. The fact that the intelligence apparatus has been so eager to use the disproportionate means of infiltration in this affair says something about its dogged determination to keep shameful matters under wraps.

A tribal war with antagonists baying for blood – I should never have been part of that. On the contrary, from an ethical perspective, I should have been protected by the MID and BVD from secret service machinations. Unsuspecting citizens like my Casema managers and myself were put in a bizarre situation: we found ourselves asking the authorities to clarify a genuine espionage scandal unfolding in the Dutch lowlands. That is quite telling.

A typical whistle-blower is an employee who discloses misconduct by their employer, thereby 'betraying' their own bosses. Because of this, whistle-blowers often struggle with their loyalties. Although I witnessed a spy debacle, I do not fit the description above: I never worked for the MoD and I have no complaints about Casema. In that respect: my manager Lisa did her best to clear up the espionage crimes that had terrified our office. She deserves nothing but praise for this.

In my view, an operation intended to quash internal opposition to the withholding of evidence of war crimes, should be described carefully and thoroughly – as this is in the public interest. This is

why I feel compelled to divulge the questionable actions of the people involved. I have attempted to present this as objectively as possible in this exposé.

I have chosen to be discreet here and there. The fact that civil servants were only too happy to tell their story did not stop me from protecting them where necessary. On the advice of the BVD, I have omitted some of the disclosures they themselves provided, in the interest of my own safety and that of others.

My complaint to the National Ombudsman was looked into by the State Attorney at law firm Pels Rijcken, Lucas reveals. This was confirmed years later by a former employee, to whom I promised anonymity.

However, the Armed Forces are said to have refused to disclose the background to the case, much to Pels Rijcken's dismay. While I was briefed in detail by a senior intelligence officer in the Home Office about what the MoD had been up to, the Armed Forces, so I am told, did not dare share the case's background with their lawyer.

After examining the documents submitted by the MoD, the State Attorney advised to settle the case with me, so Lucas says. But I was never approached with any proposal. The Ministry refused to retract the false and murky statements the MID top brass made about me. Despite an angry minister sacking the MID command, the Ombudsman declared my complaint unfounded.

On Spong's advice, I wanted to report the criminal offences. For as long as possible, however, the police refused to file a report. The BVD connects their reluctance to Monica's former liaison job: she knew too much. She had kept the copies of the documents collected from Mayor Deetman, Chief of Police Wiarda and Chief Prosecutor Van Gend, should the need arise to save her own skin. She threatened to leak them to the media, thereby opening a can of worms, Lucas said.

This explains why the police and judiciary in The Hague refused to file a report and prosecute Monica.

The opposition I faced in this matter finally led me to appeal to the Queen. Shortly after her intervention, Deetman formally admitted that his police force had bungled. But there was more going on.

Lucas reports that the National Police Internal Investigations Department (Dutch: 'Rijksrecherche'), the special police branch that investigates government corruption and war crimes, conducted a criminal investigation into the affair. To this end, two police investigators reportedly spoke to Mark and visited Casema to talk to my former colleagues.

Lucas points out that, following investigations, the National Police Internal Investigations Department was highly critical of the conduct of the two Defence women at Casema. These findings would in fact have cleared me completely of the phony MoD accusations.

However, I was told the Internal Investigations Department decided to close the case and keep it under wraps. The MID's withholding of photographs of war crimes in Srebrenica was not addressed. Nor was my name cleared.

Lucas says that another miscarriage of justice at the time had actually been put right. Police Chief René Lancee of Schiermonnikoog Island had been arrested by a special squad in 1996, after his daughter had accused him of sexual abuse. Later, it turned out that leading questioning by the National Police Internal Investigations Department had led her into giving a false statement. According to Docters van Leeuwen in his memoirs: Police and prosecutors had 'made mistake after mistake and made a mess of things'.[83] As a result, many officials and politicians were forced to resign.[84]

According to Lucas, the reason for clearing Lancee's name publicly, and not mine, was partly due to his social status. They weren't keen on showing someone like me the same courtesy. The BVD top official's assessment: 'The authorities consider your interests to be secondary to those of the state.'

Character assassination is not uncommon. The MoD labelling me 'mentally ill' after having first deemed me suitable as a military analyst, was not an isolated faux pas. The same thing happened to intelligence analyst Fred Spijkers, who refused to keep a scandal about defective land mines under wraps. Maliciously, the Armed Forces diagnosed him as paranoid and schizophrenic.[85] Later on,

while at a branch of McDonald's, the whistle-blower was under actual gunfire by five soldiers, stationed at the Soesterberg Air Base next door.[86]

Has the Dutch government ever considered the consequences of this 'human resources policy'? With such conduct, how does the MoD intend to recruit sensible intelligence officers?

After the false MID report was issued, I came into contact with partner secret service BVD. I kept them informed on this nationally sensitive matter as best I could. Even if my role as an informant was only of little consequence, I was pleased they took my testimony seriously. Also, I welcome that a lot of details of the scandal have been exposed to me by a senior official of the BVD. That is a relief and I am grateful to him and Lucas for their assistance.

However, the government's refusal to clear my name, is most unsatisfactory to me. Despite being useful as a witness for the BVD, the State prefers to leave me to my own devices. They even choose to commit character assassination by falsely claiming I am mentally ill. Subsequently, they dismiss me as a witness to this affair. Apparently, this is something I have to come to terms with. According to the BVD chief, resistance is futile because the national interest is at stake here.

Lucas points out the purpose of this so-called 'diagnosis': the MID's intention is to disqualify as implausible my testimony about their intrigues. Thwarting my career – putting pressure on Casema to dispose of me – seems to have fitted into this strategy as well.

These disruption measures were not limited to my professional life. Among other things, I am able to prove that my boyfriend was told to stop contacting me – he was given to understand I was uneasy talking about my past.

Lucas explains that undermining careers and creating difficulties in people's private lives, are common intelligence tactics. This string of measures is meant to thwart me: I must be crushed.

The realisation that my country turns its back on its own citizens in such a callous way is quite a blow. It is a hell of a thing when the government interferes in their careers and private lives and tells them that they have to put up with it in the national interest.

I find it tormenting that the State should assign me this fate. Serving the interest of the government by remaining silent while it is attempting to make your life impossible does not feel like a noble cause.

The more I think about it, the clearer it becomes. The expectation that I will allow myself to be broken inwardly and give up ideals for an unspecified interest is misplaced. Sacrificing myself for the sake of a cover-up goes against everything I stand for: the pursuit of light and truth. My character was not only found strong, it is strong. Give up? Never.

The reality, however, is murky. The pile of documents proving that justice is on my side; an intervention by the Queen – they may be trump cards, but they are difficult to play on this issue. Here, the government operates clandestinely by not playing by the rules of the game.

Outlawry is a medieval punishment that allows anything to be done to a person, without him being protected by the rule of law. Why is it that the Netherlands today is covertly imposing such a punishment on its citizens? What kind of dystopia is this?

If a reader ever finds himself in the position of being thwarted by his government, he will need time to come to terms with it. He will be so disillusioned by the disruption measures that it will become a necessity for him to fathom exactly what is going on. He will wrestle with the question of what his country, which has driven him into a corner, is actually doing. And if he survives the attacks, both physically and mentally, he will need to find the right tactics. In what way is he able to maintain himself somewhere despite the opposition?

I experience this quest for answers – despite the unwavering support of friends and family – as an individual process. Unravelling the dark intrigues on my life's path has led me to contemplate them in silence. As a result, the disruption measures, however grim, result in a solution-orientation in yours truly that I have come to appreciate as invaluable. As Nietzsche noted about the 'war' that constitutes our life lessons, 'That which does not kill me makes me stronger.'

I soon realise my position: a rather insignificant citizen facing a supreme adversary. A counter-attack would be futile. For me this is reason to dismiss feelings of anger as pointless and thus neutralise them.

It is better to face the disruption measures in all their grimness, without anger or self-pity – after all, I refuse to be disrupted. In my mind, however, I continue to search for truth. And my role in the big picture quickly becomes clear: I am the louse in the fur – too puny for a mastodon to properly defend itself against. The more ferociously he tries to knock off the louse, the more he hurts himself.

Of course, the battle that the Dutch State is fighting cannot be won by one person. The Netherlands is too powerful for that. But that is not important, as I have no ambition to force a minister to resign or to overthrow the government. On the contrary, making a modest contribution to citizens' freedom – protecting the rule of law: that is what I am all about.[87]

It is this task, in the face of sinister intelligence machinations, that I take on with zeal. The fact that I'm able to dedicate myself to my ideals – even if I won't be wearing a beret – gives me a wondrous satisfaction in this quagmire of deception.

Realising that the Armed Forces have entered an asymmetric conflict naturally points to the only effective tactic for my task: my pen can hold a mirror up to the State. Was it not Van der Pol, the military psychologist, who pointed out that people within his organisation are vulnerable to words chosen carefully?

By mirroring them, the attacks can be evaded. Indeed, I am convinced that the energy and momentum being used to try to harm me will backfire on the State itself. Let's look at this conflict in a broader perspective than just on an individual level. What unspoken national interest is at stake here, that my country feels compelled to silence an unwanted witness? Whose credibility is really at risk here?

The Srebrenica tragedy plays a leading role in this affair. The fact that thousands of civilians, whom the Netherlands were supposed to protect, have been shot dead has left us with a nationwide

trauma. In retrospect, the Dutch Army command should have ordered *all* Dutchbat soldiers – elite soldiers no less – to fight.

Why this unparalleled negligence? After the fall of the city, Dutch soldiers helped to separate the Bosniak men from their women. Why is everyone in the Netherlands being deceived about the Srebrenica photographic film showing this assistance?

During working hours of her military job, Monica revealed at Casema, after repeatedly introducing herself as an MID officer, that the roll is simply withheld to protect Dutchbat veterans on the tennis court or in the pub. Should the photos be published, it is after all quite possible that they would be approached by friends in their spare time about their role in the tragedy of Srebrenica.

The truth is disturbing: footage of an impending genocide has been covered up so that veterans can have a pint of beer in the pub without being disturbed. Their observations of a massacre seem less important than the protection of their reputations, among friends and acquaintances. The clarification of the genocide is apparently not a priority for the MoD. No, their image, the good name of the boys – that is what it is all about.

Needless to say, it is against our democratic rule of law for the photo roll to be withheld. Nor is it in the national interest for this deception not to be corrected after critical examination. So why is the Dutch State still keeping the lid on the cover-up? Is the Royal Netherlands Army perhaps too cowardly to face up to its own role in the fall of Srebrenica – this national trauma? And does it resist disclosure because *its* credibility is at stake?

CHAPTER 10

Unmasking

The question that remains is: who is behind this scandal? Who was behind the office intrusion aimed at breaking the intelligence opposition to the Srebrenica cover-up? Who was steering Ina?

The answer may be found among those who have not come to terms with the fact that most of the Dutchbat soldiers were not ordered by their immediate superiors to fight to protect the enclave.

On 18 April 2002, everything becomes a lot clearer to me as soon as I set eyes on the daily *Algemeen Dagblad*. On the front page there is a large colour photograph of a woman whom I know well. It's Ina! I wonder what the newspaper is reporting about her.[88]

Unlike Ina, I saw Monica occasionally. I ran into her at the popular Albert Cuyp Market and in the night-spots of Amsterdam.

Although I then try to ignore her, I can see her shaking with fear. While I am comfortable in my skin and often shamelessly happy, Monica is terrified. The uncomfortable situation makes me realise that a spy in our small country is not able to go through life in anonymity. She soon loses face.

In the newspaper picture, Ina has a facial expression I know well. It reminds me of the fear I read in her trembling body and face whenever her husband was mentioned. Well, the husband is also pictured, with his hand resting on her shoulder.

The caption reads: 'General Van Baal, who has resigned yesterday as Commander-in-Chief of the Army under intense political pressure, went for an off-duty walk with his wife last night.' I am struck by the fact that Ina's husband is none other than Ad van Baal,

a protagonist in the Srebrenica tragedy – the second-in-command of our army at the time.

A week earlier, the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD) published the shocking investigative report *Srebrenica: a 'safe' area*.[89] In response, the Ministers Jan Pronk and Frank de Grave announced that they would be stepping down.[90] Finally, on 16 April, *all* ministers collectively resigned from their positions: Prime Minister Wim Kok's government fell.

The daily *Het Financieele Dagblad* comments on the collapse of the cabinet: 'Perhaps Kok can look everyone straight in the eye, but the fact that it took the Netherlands seven years to come to terms with Srebrenica morally and politically shows how difficult it is for the Netherlands to face up to its own limitations and moral incapacity.'[91]

Press photographer Cor de Kock took the picture in the *Algemeen Dagblad* newspaper. When I call him years later, he tells me that he found out Van Baal's home address through his contacts and had waited there in the hope that he would come out. But Van Baal had already seen the paparazzo and stayed inside. Then De Kock set a trap. He pretended to give up and drove off. But he did not go very far. A little further on, he parked his car to stand with his camera in a concealed position.

And so the couple went out after all. De Kock ambushed – an ancient military tactic – the fallen general and photographed him in the company of his horrified wife.[92] As a result, the Van Baals are now on the front page of the *Algemeen Dagblad*.

Van Baal's biography on the internet gives his wife's full name. Apparently, Ina combined a false first name with her real maiden name during her undercover assignment.

The newspaper picture makes me think about Ina's behaviour. From my very first meeting with her, I knew something was wrong. Now it turns out that my intuition was right.

As the spy intrigue had scared Casema, I call the cable company. In a friendly conversation with Mr Hartogs, I tell him about the newspaper photo.[93]

Earlier, the BVD had informed me about Ina's identity. At the time, though, I found it hard to believe that she was actually a

general's wife. Surely it is beyond words for a general to use his wife as a spy for his personal career interests. How can they be this meshugge in the Dutch Army?

The publication of the photo confronts me with the truth and removes the last doubts about the identity of my former colleague. As the final pieces of the puzzle fall into place, I am getting closer to the bottom of this cover-up scandal, in which sensitive photographs play a prominent role.

I have never been trained as an analyst. Perhaps not all of the details are completely accurate, but these are my findings:

1. On 13 July 1995, three Dutchbat servicemen take photographs of nine murdered Bosniaks in the fallen town of Srebrenica. Lieutenant Koster stands among the bodies to show the world the war crimes of the Bosnian Serbs. The three even risk their lives, as they are shot at by Serbian soldiers immediately after taking the photos. However, the Dutchmen manage to escape and bring the photo roll to safety.

   But the MID decides to cover up the footage. Indeed, the Srebrenica roll of film has a dark side.

   The footage also shows Dutchbat soldiers aiding the Serbs in the illegal deportation of the population. Also, they helped to separate the men from their wives and children. The intention may have been to protect them from violence and robbery. However, this can also be interpreted in another way, namely as participation in acts of preparation for genocide.

   Collaborating in deportation and separation can't stand the light of day. The Srebrenica photo roll is covered up for fear of negative publicity.

2. On 15 July 1998, an intruder takes pictures of MID officer Monica at a business premises in the Dutch polder. She is photographed in the midst of her colleagues at Casema to prove that she has infiltrated the company illegally. The flashes of light attract attention: the intruder is chased by a worried helpdesk employee but manages to escape.

Monica and her intelligence boss – a Marine colonel – are put under pressure with the photos and leave the MID. But then the incident at Casema is covered up as there is a dark side to this story as well.

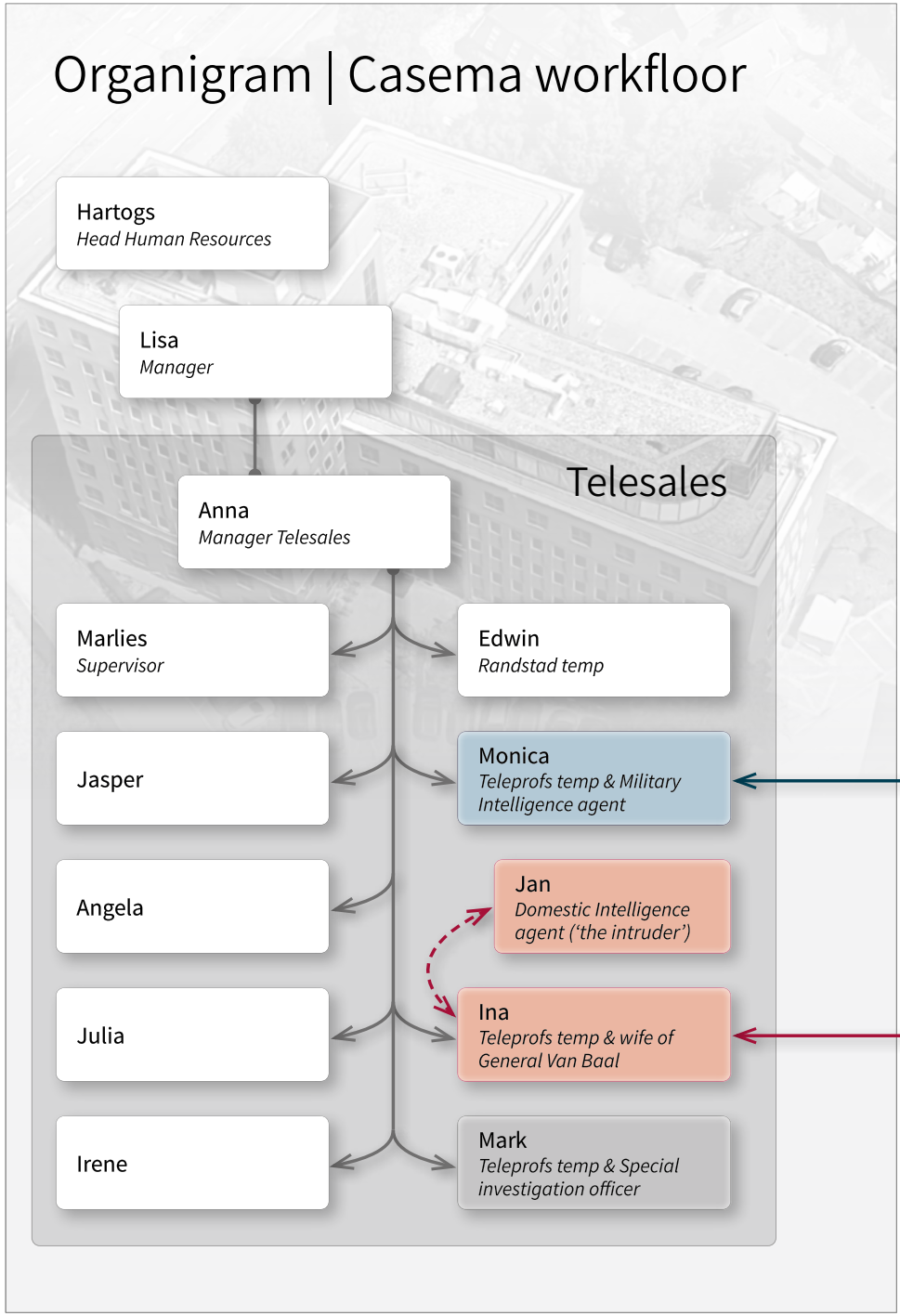
Monica and her boss had been against the cover-up of the Srebrenica photo roll. In doing so, they made an enemy of the Army command, who set a trap for them. Monica was lured into infiltrating Casema so that she could be secretly observed by Ina. Of course, the latter's infiltration is no less controversial than Monica's. For example, Ina helped the photographer by stealing an access pass for him. His intrusion can't stand the light of day, and the 'Casema photo roll' is also hidden away.

3. On 17 April 2002, Cor de Kock photographs three-star General Ad van Baal in civilian clothes in front of his residence. He is out of a job: earlier that day, he was forced to resign as Commander-in-Chief of the Army due to the controversy surrounding his role in Srebrenica. Next to him is his wife – and I recognise her as Ina: the mole in Casema.

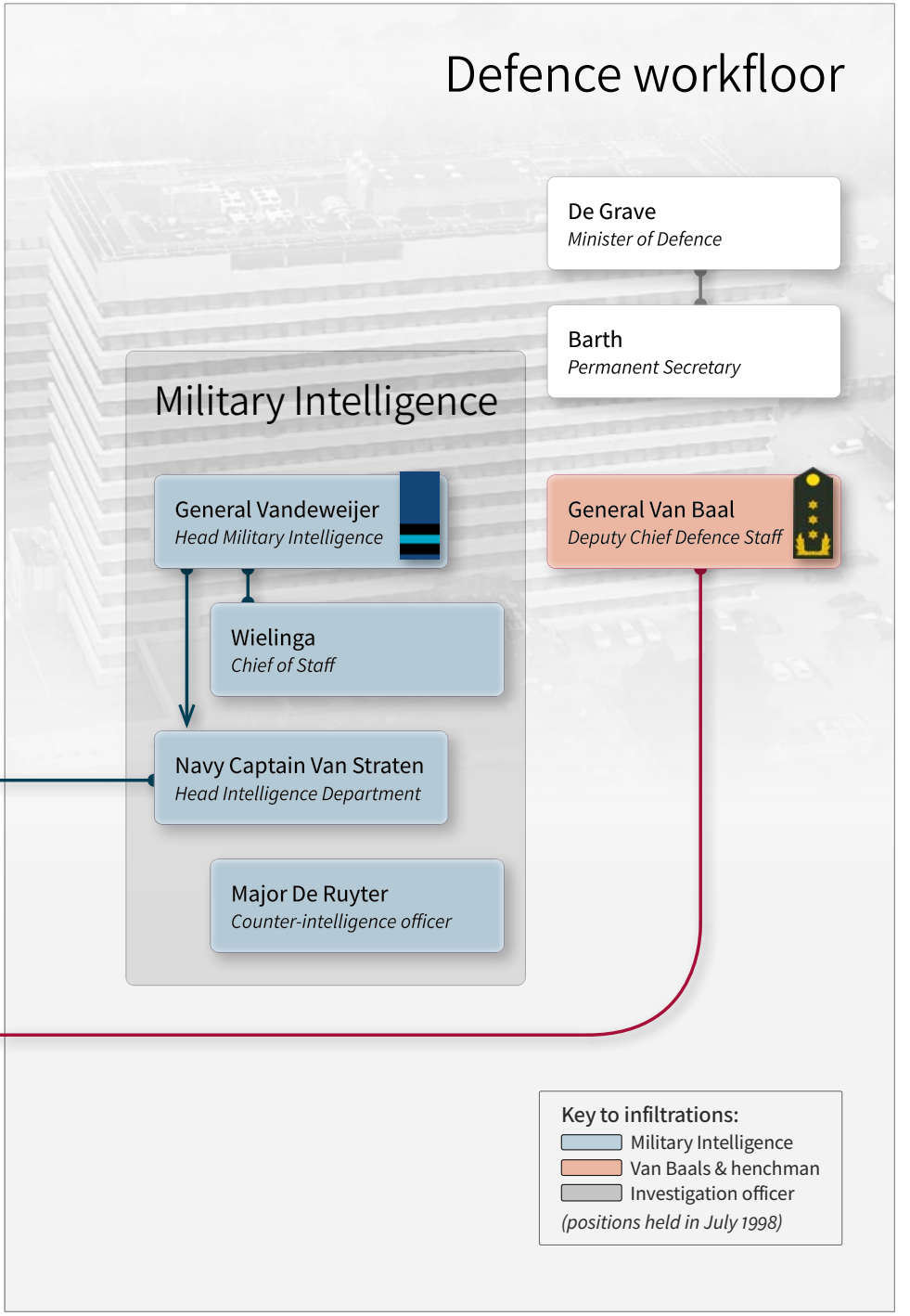
Below the press photo is an article by crime reporter Bert Huisjes, headlined 'Wonder boy Van Baal turned cover-up general'.[94] Huisjes writes: 'What was wrong with Van Baal? A lot, and the Minister knew it. … For example, in the months following the tragedy, he investigated the functioning of Dutchbat, but did not inform the Minister at the time, Voorhoeve. He also came up with the idea of softening the sharp edges of the information from the Dutchbat soldiers' debriefing. All conversations were stamped 'confidential', allowing the army to determine what could and, more importantly, what could *not* be made public.'

The *Algemeen Dagblad* continues: 'It turned out to be a pattern, especially when a withheld statement that Dutchbat had signed in July 1995 at the request of the Serbs also later surfaced. The Netherlands had committed itself to ensuring that the deportation of refugees was carried out correctly. The fax disappeared into a drawer of Van Baal and only came out years later.'

Organigram | Casema workfloor



Defence workfloor



Minister De Grave

Outgoing Minister De Grave declares that Van Baal 'can no longer function properly in the interests of the Royal Netherlands Army in the light of the public discussion following the NIOD report and the questions that have arisen in the process about the functioning of the Army's top command at the time, of which he was a member as Deputy Commander-in-Chief.'[95]

De Grave also explains that he can no longer take responsibility for the ongoing deceit in his department. His reason for resigning is that there is an unwillingness at the Army command to keep Parliament properly informed.[96]

CHAPTER 11

Integrity

Because he moved to Amsterdam, Gerard Spong transferred my case to a colleague who had stayed behind in The Hague. That brought me a new lawyer: Anousja Wladimiroff, who works in the prestigious criminal law firm of her father, Mikhail Wladimiroff.

Spong planned to file an Article 12 suit on my behalf, which would allow me to appeal Chief Public Prosecutor Van Gend's decision not to prosecute Monica.[97] However, Wladimiroff Jr. was less willing to stand by me. It was only on 7 March 2001, after I had written insisting on her professional assistance, that she finally commenced proceedings before the Court of Appeal in The Hague.[98]

A year and a half later, on 13 November 2002, the court hearing takes place.[99] At the Palace of Justice I meet my lawyer for the first time – she refused to make any kind of appointment with me before the hearing. Monica is not summoned. Three judges sit across from me in the courtroom. Members of the public have just been asked to leave: the hearing is in closed session.

Wladimiroff presents an account that in no way does justice to this intelligence scandal. She does not mention, for example, that Chief Public Prosecutor Van Gend may have spared Monica because, as a former liaison, she could put pressure on him with sensitive documents. Wladimiroff also fails to mention that Monica disclosed state secrets at Casema by complaining that the Dutch government is withholding photographs of Serbian war crimes.

Despite my explicit request, Wladimiroff Jr. refused to investigate the background of this case. Simply requesting the police records on the unauthorised entry into Casema – which revealed

Monica's double life as an MID officer and Casema employee – was too much for my lawyer.[100] In her opinion, these matters were not related to the Article 12 proceedings.[101]

On the other hand, my law firm is spending a great deal of time and energy in providing assistance to Serbian war criminals. My city of birth and residence, which is known as the 'International City of Peace and Justice', is small. For example, Wladimiroff Sr. assisted none other than Slobodan Milošević, the former Serbian president indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, on charges including genocide in Bosnia.[102]

As soon as Judge President De Vries gives me the floor, I declare that the MID has thwarted me both at work and in my private life. Here, I am not referring so much to the events at Casema, but mainly to more disturbing disruption measures that took place after 1998.

In the Court of Appeal, however, I am not elaborating on these threats, because they can hardly be proven. Indeed, when the intelligence agencies target someone, they prefer to do so in a way that makes it difficult for the person concerned to complain about it. You will not receive any proof of the threat. No, it is my experience that secret services have a preference for shadowy, almost incomprehensible machinations. I will describe one threat here:

Back in October 2000, a Frenchman contacted me over the internet. He worked as a concierge in a four-star hotel in Paris and wanted to show me his city. The man also offered me accommodation and food.[103] But I had my doubts, especially when I saw a BBC documentary on TV about the death of Princess Diana. The documentary explained that hotel concierges in Paris work for French intelligence by default. After all, a concierge is simply a useful source of information.

After I enquired, Lucas warned me about the plan by French secret service agents to plant hard drugs in my rucksack during the train journey. There would also be a border inspection of my high-speed train, so I could be arrested on the spot for smuggling. Lucas further explained to me that foreign intelligence agencies do often solve problems for each other. In this case, it was a friendly

service provided by French military intelligence, the General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), at the request of their Dutch counterparts who wanted to get rid of me.

I am immensely grateful to the top official of the BVD. Without his warning, I might have only seen Paris from behind bars. It would certainly have extended my holiday, as drug smuggling in France carries a prison sentence of up to thirty years.

The thought of spending my days in foreign captivity, entirely innocent, is disturbing. I have seen drug smugglers eliminate an unwanted witness in American television series. But that military personnel in the Dutch MoD should come up with a plan to have a Dutchman imprisoned outside the country's borders, using a friendly nation to do so, is almost beyond my imagination. Are cover-ups shielded in our part of the world by making witnesses stand trial for crimes they did not commit?

Former British secret agent Richard Tomlinson describes in his memoirs how intelligence agencies thwart individuals.[104] He reveals the way in which a secret service can very easily put a person under lock and key by planting drugs in their house and then arresting them.

It is clear that the MID has already shown its dark side in this affair. In addition, the DGSE has been notorious for its ruthlessness since its 1985 bombing of the Greenpeace activist ship Rainbow Warrior, killing one Dutchman.[105] We can assume that the BVD's information was correct. I cancelled my trip.

When it comes to taking potentially compromising trips to Paris, Uncle Frans has some stories to tell. Of course, it was not for nothing that he was treated to luxury holidays by the Naval Intelligence Service during his military service. No, whenever he went to Paris, he had to deliver something in person to a spy working there. And refusal was out of the question, because then the jaunt was cancelled.

My uncle tells me that, despite his doubts, he made the journeys. Having to deliver secret packages abroad to people he did not know was obviously not kosher. What was in these parcels that couldn't be sent by post?

Uncle Frans did not think much of it at the time, but he was sent off as a tourist: his uniform stayed in the wardrobe. And he was allowed to bring his future wife Norma with him. This set-up shows cunning. Indeed, by disguising the shady military trips as private holidays, the MARID could claim ignorance should customs officials discover a package.

Fortunately, my uncle, aunt and I have never been caught with contraband we knew nothing about.

In the Court of Appeal, Attorney-General A.J.M. Kaptein speaks after me. She is supposed to defend the Chief Public Prosecutor's decision to turn a blind eye to the fact that I was being antagonised by the MID. Yet as soon as she talks about this, her voice cracks. Immediately I see three judges turning their heads in amazement at Kaptein, who acts out of character by showing that my story moves her.

Judge De Vries also shows that he can empathise with me. During the hearing he tells me that I can bring a civil case against Monica.

A month later, my complaint is rejected. I receive a copy of the decision of the Court of Appeal by post:[106] 'The Court finds that, in the present case, it is not possible to determine whether the defendant's statements were made with the intention of making them public. For this reason, the offences of libel or slander cannot be established.'

Lucas points out to me that MID Major De Ruyter, MID Chief of Staff Wielinga and Permanent Secretary Barth committed forgery with the MID report and Barth's letter of 2 March 1999. This concerns a crime more serious than defamation. Furthermore, unlike slander, forgery is not an offence dependent on being reported by an individual, which means that the Ministry of Justice can prosecute without me reporting it. However, it seems that no one in the Public Prosecutor's Office is taking this up.

After the verdict, Wladimiroff Jr. advises me by phone of the costly possibility of filing a civil suit against Monica. However, almost four years have passed since the former MID officer lashed

out during her interrogation, as the legal proceedings are moving slowly in this case. So my decision is not to spend any more energy on Monica.

After I recognised Ina in the front-cover picture of the *Algemeen Dagblad*, it dawned on me that Van Baal was the mastermind behind this cover-up affair. Would it not be brave to go after this general? I toy with the idea. Yet I leave it at that, partly because he has already stepped down under intense pressure. And partly because the commitment of my lawyers is not satisfactory.

In addition to Gerard Spong, I also contacted the membership service of the FNV trade union, which on 28 May 2001 referred me to Ben Beelaard of the Valkenboslaan legal collective in The Hague.[107] I accurately described the situation for him.[108] But for months no concrete steps were taken. Even the FNV denounced the 'long processing time',[109] after which Beelaard sent the dossier back to the union for further processing.[110]

The fact is that most of the key players have left the positions they occupied during this affair. For example, the daily *De Telegraaf* wrote on 27 April 2001 that three directors of Recruitment & Selection in the Armed Forces had been removed from their posts with immediate effect. The Director General, Colonel Knoop, his deputy, Lieutenant Colonel Van Gassen, and the Head of the Selection Department, Lieutenant Colonel Luurs, had to leave. The reason for this: their 'failed management'. 'In addition, the working atmosphere between the managers was not optimal.'[111] There were 'a number of problems', writes the daily *NRC Handelsblad*.[112]

Lucas tells me that in the directors' letters of resignation, the handling of my application was listed as a secondary reason for dismissal. Obviously, there's a lot wrong with the MoD's selection policy: you don't just send three directors home.

In addition to Recruitment & Selection, the MID is also making a break with the scandals of the past. In 2002, the secret service is thoroughly reorganised and given a new name: Military Intelligence and Security Service, abbreviated MIVD.

With the dismissals and reorganisations at the MoD, I can distance myself more from the abuses. However, my friends tell

me that this affair will never die down – it will always be topical. After all, this scandal is intertwined with evidence of war crimes.

Armorial shield MIVD

Armorial Shield Military Intelligence

A new, distinctive coat of arms is designed for the MID's successor, the MIVD. The secret service proudly declares: 'The armorial shield of the Military Intelligence and Security Service (MIVD) has the Egyptian sphinx at its centre. Here, the sphinx symbolises the knowledge and wisdom of the MIVD.'[113]

This explanation, however, shows a misunderstanding of the ancient Egyptian world. In fact, the sphinx served as a temple guard in pharaonic Egypt. It did not possess the coveted knowledge and wisdom that resided in the temple behind it, but merely guarded it. So the sphinx does not symbolise knowledge and wisdom in any way, but symbolises – and this is not insignificant for the MIVD – the need to be careful. After all, a military intelligence and security service would be wise not to use an armorial shield that can be easily cracked.

In the autumn of 2004, I happen to read in the newspaper that Van Baal has been rehabilitated. Although he had been forced to resign in April 2002, he had quietly returned a few months later. He simply went back to work for the MoD.

Van Baal is now working as the Inspector General of the Armed Forces (IGK).[114] This opens up a new perspective because, as IGK, he is the highest trustee of the MoD. Within the Dutch Armed Forces, the precise role he performs requires him to have the utmost personal integrity. He is responsible for restoring trust in individual cases where it has been damaged.

This is convenient. The fact that the Armed Forces have slandered my character after first praising it raises the question of how

much integrity the MoD actually has. By writing to the Inspector General, it is now up to Van Baal to lead by example. He can demonstrate the character that makes one a three-star general in the Armed Forces.

I am curious to know Inspector General Van Baal's position on the Defence crimes committed at his wife's former workplace. How much personal courage does this general have? How does he interpret concepts such as incorruptibility and uprightness?

My recruitment as a military analyst was not exactly by the book – indeed, I was undeniably disadvantaged. I offer Van Baal, in his new position, a unique opportunity to resolve this highly charged dispute for which he can be held responsible. Despite his leading role in the Srebrenica tragedy and the cover-up of inconvenient facts about it, his honour has been restored. Now my honour must be restored in turn.

In a registered letter, I confront him with the crimes committed in Casema. I refer to the two deployed Defence women without explicitly mentioning the name of Van Baal's wife. Also, I mention that I had written to Queen Beatrix about the mistakes made by his organisation, and that she had intervened. In conclusion, I call on the IGK 'to finally settle this matter among ourselves so that further damage to those directly involved can be avoided.'[115]

On behalf of Van Baal, my appeal is dismissed on 12 November 2004. In a letter without a closing salutation, his Chief of Staff writes:[116]

> Dear Mr Giltay,
>
> This is to inform you that I have duly received your letter of 1 November 2004 concerning the above matter. In response, I report the following.
>
> In your letter, you ask the Inspector General of the Armed Forces to grant you rehabilitation and appropriate compensation. However, the IGK has only a consultative and mediatory role and is therefore not empowered to take independent legal action such as that to which you refer. I therefore ask you to

> address your appeal directly to the Minister of Defence, instead.
>
> If and to the extent that you ask the IGK to mediate in order to obtain said rehabilitation, I must inform you that the complaint on which you base your claim has not become clear to me. The statement by Mrs [Monica] that you quote was made entirely on her own initiative. As far as I can see, the Ministry of Defence cannot be held responsible for it. Furthermore, the appendixes you sent do not deal with reprehensible behaviour by the Ministry of Defence, but with police behaviour by an official of the Hague regional police.
>
> I therefore regret to inform you that, in view of the above, I am unable to take your letter into consideration.
>
> The Inspector General of the Armed Forces
> For him:
> the Chief of Staff,
> H.T. Wagenaar, LLM
> Navy Captain of the Administration

The letter shows that Van Baal is playing dumb. The IGK, as an independent military ombudsman, can indeed help to rehabilitate me. The claim that the Armed Forces cannot be held accountable for Monica's fraudulent words is also untrue. After all, it was the Minister of Defence who endorsed the MID report in which she made her lying statements; he sent it to the National Ombudsman without any reservations.

Something else stands out: the letter fails to address the crimes listed. The IGK is obliged to refer suspected criminal cases to the Royal Military Police,[117] the branch of the Armed Forces that carries out policing duties. This time, however, Van Baal fails to do so, delaying the swift prosecution of the perpetrators.

It is clear that the Inspector General of the Armed Forces is reluctant to come to terms with his own past. The regret expressed in the letter is false.

It is time for a probing follow-up letter to Van Baal, a general who – as the BVD has rubbed in my face – is not my superior.

The reason for this is that the MoD had missed the opportunity to bring me in as a serviceman and to integrate me into the military hierarchy.

In my letter, I draw the IGK's attention to the fact that his refusal to rehabilitate me leaves me no choice but to 'visit the editorial offices of daily newspapers, magazines and television stations with my documented story so that this case may receive the attention it deserves in national publicity.'[118]

I do not fail to address Van Baal personally. I expressly remind him of the role he played in this matter in 1998 in his then capacity as Deputy Chief of Defence Staff.

There are good reasons for mentioning Van Baal's senior position held in the Central Defence Organisation during the Casema espionage intrigues. After all, the Chief of Defence Staff is party to the tribal struggle surrounding the MID, as I have learned, among other things, from the book *De MARID: de Marine Inlichtingendienst van binnenuit belicht* ('The MARID: the Naval Intelligence Service from the inside out').[119] Here, Van Idsinga describes the tensions within the hierarchies – shrouded in government secrecy – of the secret services: '[There was] a great reluctance among the branches of the Armed Forces to hand anything over to the Central Organisation.'

On 9 December I receive a refusal in response to my follow-up letter. Van Baal replies to me personally this time and remains firm in his unwillingness to restore the broken trust:[120]

> Dear Mr Giltay,
>
> This is to inform you that your letter of 2 December 2004 has been duly received.
>
> In response to the contents of your (further) letter, I see no reason to change my opinion as expressed in my letter of 12 November 2004, signed on my behalf by my Chief of Staff.
>
> I am therefore unable to comply with your request.
>
> [handwritten:] kind regards,

> Yours sincerely,
> The Inspector General of the Armed Forces,
> A.P.P.M. van Baal
> Lieutenant General of Artillery

General Van Baal's uncooperative attitude does not make me forget his controversial behaviour in this matter.

At Casema, Ina spoke tenderly of her early affair with the man who is now her husband: when asked about her first love experiences, she confessed she fell for Ad.

General Van Baal also commented on his marriage. During his public swearing-in as Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces, he twice thanked his wife for her support.[121] He also has it written in the *Politieacademiekrant* ('Police academy newspaper') in 2007 that they are still in love.[122]

I can only insist that General Van Baal's intimate contact with his 'spy' seems to constitute a sexual offence under military criminal law. After all, a soldier is supposed to keep an appropriate distance from his subordinates. He is not allowed to have such close relations with them.

Of course, it is common for spouses to have sex with each other. There must be something very unusual going on for it to be a sex crime. A military hierarchy within a marriage is something so extraordinary.

There is a reason why an intimate relationship between a soldier and his subordinate is forbidden in the MoD. No professional army wants its duties to be compromised by private matters. After all, an intimate relationship between members of military personnel undermines the credibility and hierarchy of the organisation.

Lucas stresses that the military sex crime that he knows General Van Baal committed by failing to keep his professional and personal lives separate should not be underestimated: he was forbidden to have his own wife perform a covert operation for him.

Moreover, if the General had ordered his wife to steal the access card, he could have been convicted as the perpetrator of the theft under the Dutch Military Criminal Code. After all, a soldier

is prohibited from commanding a subordinate to commit a crime.

By using a false first name and her maiden name, Ina was able to commit the theft without drawing attention to her identity as the wife of a general. This deception helped the Van Baals to hide the controversial operation at Casema. However, if Defence officials keep crimes secret, this poses a security risk to the Defence organisation that should not be underestimated.

A member of the military who commits a crime and conceals it runs the risk of being blackmailed. This threatens to undermine the integrity of the Armed Forces. The higher the position and rank of the perpetrator, the greater the security risk. The behaviour of senior officers should be above reproach, so that intelligence agencies have no means of pressuring them.

One of the tasks of the Military Intelligence and Security Service (MIVD) is to check whether a soldier can be blackmailed. Lucas explained that in addition to crimes such as theft and burglary, sexual escapades are also taken into account when screening employees. Those who have committed a sex crime and are anxious to keep it secret may be threatened with disclosure. Fearing public or criminal condemnation, such a serviceman may then succumb to neglecting his responsibilities. This danger should obviously be avoided for the sake of the country's security.

Given that safeguarding integrity within the MoD is a core task of the MIVD, it is surprising that Van Baal maintained his 'Statement of No Objection'. In fact, the BVD pointed out to me in 1999 that – by using his own wife in this operation – Van Baal had committed a military sex crime and placed himself in a vulnerable position. However, this 'sex scandal' never came to public attention, and the MIVD allowed Van Baal to remain in a powerful position. The MIVD even considers him qualified to be Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces and Inspector General of the Armed Forces.

In the latter role, Van Baal's duties include resolving disputes involving MIVD officers. However, an IGK must be of impeccable character to avoid being pressured in any way. He should be above partisanship because his job is to get to the truth – whether it is painful for him, his loved ones or anyone else.

When I made an appeal to Van Baal, he did not show any signs of independence at all. Since he failed in his responsibility to resolve this military intelligence dispute involving him and his wife, the question is how Van Baal passed his screening. What was it that made the MIVD consider this highly controversial figure to be suitable as the trustee of the Armed Forces? Was it perhaps the intention to appoint an overseer who could be put under pressure if the need arose?

During the information meeting at the naval base in Amsterdam, it was pointed out that when recruits join the military, they swear allegiance to the Queen, promise to obey the laws and submit to military discipline. The Armed Forces gave me a special note on these core values at the time.[123] It states that the Oath of Allegiance is not a relic of the days of yore: 'Absolute loyalty may seem old-fashioned, but some things are unchangeable. Loyalty is one of them. You can neither argue with that nor discuss it.' The text continues:

> LOYALTY TO THE KING (QUEEN) means allegiance to the constitutional monarch who, as such, represents the supreme authority of the state. It means loyalty to the legitimate government, a government that must be assured of the loyalty of its Defence organisation under all circumstances – not only in exceptional circumstances, when the security of our country or the Alliance is at stake, but also in seemingly insignificant day-to-day matters.
>
> OBEDIENCE to the law should be self-evident. In fact, it is the duty of every citizen in a democratic constitutional state. However, in times

State portrait H.M. Beatrix

> of war, military personnel can be given authority by the government from which no small powers can be derived. This means that a soldier should be a role model in upholding the law. However, the law also imposes an obligation not to exceed the limits of the powers granted. This protects both the soldier and the society from the abuse of power.
>
> MILITARY LAW is the adherence to a system of logical rules of conduct to ensure the functioning of the Armed Forces in all circumstances. In addition to the law, military law protects everyone's duties and rights. Military law applies to every soldier regardless of rank or position. ...

The principles embodied within the Oath of Allegiance are occasionally far removed from actual military practice. In this affair, for example, Van Baal seems to have broken the oath on all three counts: he misled the minister despite swearing unconditional allegiance to the legitimate government. He also appears to have exceeded his authority. If Van Baal is the one who ordered his wife's undercover operation, it is impossible to reconcile this with the laws and rules of conduct that a military man – regardless of rank or position – must abide by.

The only one who has shown loyalty in this operation is Van Baal's wife – and that is her marital loyalty. Her role deserves some respect. Although Ina has deceived everyone by keeping her identity and her criminal intentions to herself, there is something admirable about the commitment she has shown to her husband. Another wife would have said: all that shit at work, sort it out yourself.

This book sheds light on the many mistakes Ina made during her operation. However, it remains to be seen how much of this can be blamed on a devoted wife. It turns out that Ina was a failure as a secret agent because she was not suited to the job – she could not even cope with the simple work of the Telesales Department.

It is fortunate for her that she was deployed to the peaceful city of Delft. If Ina had been caught with her notebook during an operation in Damascus, she might not have been able to retell her story.

The MID overstepped its bounds in 1998 when it banned a love affair between two citizens: Jasper was ordered to break up with me. This preposterous course of action raises the question of how consistent the Dutch government has been in this affair in dealing with personal relationships, and how military intelligence deals with relationships that are actually forbidden. Has Ina ever been made aware of the fact that a soldier is not allowed to have a relationship with one of his subordinates? And did the MID order her to leave her husband because of antecedents that are so serious that he does not dare to talk to her about it?

Lucas enlightens me on how Ina was brought into the MoD as an agent: General Van Baal, as Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, put his wife forward because of the shortage of staff at the MID and because Ina herself had ambitions to return to work. Besides, Ina was considered suitable to observe Monica, simply because Monica did not know her.

It is better for the standing of the army if it recruits its personnel on the basis of their qualities. In addition, when married couples who are closely associated with the government start working for each other, it raises in this case questions such as: what possesses a general when he secretly uses his wife as a spy to further his own career? Did Ad turn to his wife because this operation is so scandalous that he only dared entrust it to his own wife? Was she perhaps the only one crazy enough to sacrifice herself for this intelligence move?

Whether Monica should have been ordered to infiltrate Casema is highly questionable. The MID can only carry out such an operation if the security of the State is at risk. That was not the case with us. The Telesales department was not preparing terrorist attacks, nor were we selling weapons of mass destruction over the phone.

No less questionable than Monica's infiltration is Ina's. She should never have been ordered to do this. In a modern army, the loyalty that she has shown to her husband is completely out of place.

In addition to his wife, General Van Baal's aunt also contributed to the success of this secret operation. Thanks to the offer of a place

to stay, her niece did not have to be in traffic jams every day. This family support is in itself commendable. But it does not reflect the reality of the country in which we live.

In the Netherlands, a Deputy Chief of Defence Staff should not have secret operations run by his family members like some kind of a Mafia boss. Nor should he set a trap to settle a tribal struggle at the MoD in his favour. The Defence Staff must concentrate on legitimate operations for which our men are trained.

Nevertheless, it is easy to see why Van Baal made strange leaps. If, as a general, you failed in your mission to protect an enclave – resulting in a genocide – then it is extremely painful to have to face that failure. There's no way to justify that Van Baal tried to conceal these antecedents with cunning, but it's explainable because the trauma of Srebrenica embarrasses him to an unprecedented degree.

The fact is that on 11 July 1995, Deputy Army Commander-in-Chief Ad van Baal and Chief of Defence Staff Henk van den Breemen made an extremely disconcerting demand. The evening after the fall of Srebrenica, both visited Bernard Janvier – the French Commander-in-Chief of the UN peacekeeping force – in Zagreb. Janvier had just given Dutchbat the order to stay put: the Bosniaks had to be protected. However, the two Dutchmen put on the table the demand that Dutchbat should leave the enclave by the next day.[124]

When it mattered most, Generals Van Baal and Van den Breemen pleaded passionately for the withdrawal of the Dutch troops. They fought tooth and nail to protect *their* boys. It was as if the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces was proving his unconditional loyalty to his men at the climactic moment of the tragedy.

The Royal Netherlands Army should have ordered its men to protect the civilians of Srebrenica from the Bosnian Serbs. Without question, moreover, Dutchbat should have been motivated enough and spirited enough to accomplish this difficult combat task. But their priority was to ensure their own safety and survival. Dutchbat hardly fought at all – it saved its own skin. Our country handed

over part of a population to its arch-enemy. The Bosniak men were then murdered by the Serb military.

'The disturbing fact is that at no time did the Dutch battalion in Srebrenica offer resistance to the Serbs,' a French parliamentary investigatory commission reported in 2001.[125] In the report, officers also pointed out that Dutchbat was ordered to fight:[126] 'If there had been four hundred French in Srebrenica, things would have been very different.'

It is essential that the Minister of Defence has all relevant information. Of course, he should have received the prints of the infamous photographic film. After all, they prove that Dutchbat collaborated with the Serbs on the deportation of the Bosniaks and that many had already been killed by 13 July 1995 – genocide was imminent. Nevertheless, the photo roll was covered up. The Minister, who is accountable to Parliament, was misled by Van Baal.

General Van Baal

The eight thousand murders on Bosniaks were no reason for Dutch military intelligence to deprive Van Baal – who was partly responsible for their protection – of his Declaration of No Objection. Nor was there any objection to his misleading the Minister about the facts of the genocide. On the contrary, despite his treachery, Van Baal is allowed to advise the Minister as Inspector General of the Armed Forces. Despite the genocide, the MIVD considers him suitable as IGK to restore mutual trust in personal matters.

As Van Baal referred me to the Minister of Defence, I write to the latter on 1 September 2007.[127] In the letter, I talk about the Casema sneak-in and the misbehaviour of the two Defence women, who I mention by name for the first time.

The following questions are also asked:

'Your Excellency, are your generals allowed to use criminal means in a civilian industry in our country to pursue personal interests such as covering up for the Minister criticism of the concealment of photographs of serious failings in Srebrenica? Are you fully informed yourself? Have you already seen the pictures?'

After more than four months, Permanent Secretary Ton Annink of the MoD gives an evasive reply.[128] He does not address the questions raised, claiming that my letter does not raise 'any new facts or circumstances'.

Due to the continuing misunderstandings with the government, in 2009 I begin to elaborate on my account of the Casema intrigues. The aim is to distribute it widely, including to legislators. Thus, on 7 March 2010, I hand it over to Senator Britta Böhler,[129] whose law firm is representing the former Dutchbat interpreter Hasan Nuhanović.

On New Year's Day 2011, the storage shed of my apartment goes up in flames; there is a risk of explosion.[130] It is all the more frightening for residents when the fire brigade claims it was arson. A link with this affair is unlikely, but cannot be ruled out: the perpetrator is never caught. The originals of my dossier have been lost,[131] but fortunately digital copies exist at various addresses.

A year later, I meet socially critical publisher Paul de Ridder, who wants to publish my account in book form. The contact is pleasant, but we go our separate ways.

In 2006, De Ridder published the non-fiction book *Een man tegen de Staat* ('One man against the State'),[132] about whistle-blower Spijkers, who unfortunately sees his life as an excruciating ordeal. The accusations made in the book against politicians and high-ranking military officers had led to several court cases.[133] The publisher is afraid that my military exposé will also result in a costly legal battle and is looking for a lawyer to review the manuscript at a reasonable price. But it seems difficult to find the right one.

I understand his caution. Back in 1999, Lucas warned that when a testimony is published, it runs the risk of being attacked because of a small detail that is not correct.

Finally, in 2013, I end up with the Amsterdam-based publisher Coen Borgman of SpeakEasy Publisher & Agency. Although I insist that the manuscript be checked by a lawyer,[134] he does not think it necessary. He fully supports the content and says he will take the risk, partly because I correctly apply the principle of rebuttal.

I include General Van Baal's and Monica's reactions to this affair in full in this book. For example, pages 117–120 show Van Baal's evasive response after I wrote to him as IGK. My announcement that I would make this scandal public – if I had to – did not provoke any reaction.

On 11 February 1999, Monica was interrogated by counter-intelligence Major De Ruyter about the events in Casema. Her full testimony can be found on pages 57–58. I cannot ask her for a new response. After all, to do this I would have to contact her, which she had strictly forbidden me to do on 13 August 1998.

As so many years have passed, I nevertheless consider sending an e-mail to Monica. But she seems to be untraceable. There are two different spellings of her surname: the spelling with an 'i', used by the Minister of Defence and others in an official letter,[135] and the spelling with the letters 'ij', typed by Monica herself in a fax to the National Ombudsman and signed by her.[136] On doing an Internet search neither spelling produces results concerning her.

The exposé would benefit from the views of former Minister Frank de Grave. I write to him: 'Would you like to read my manuscript and perhaps write a foreword?' I let him know that I have not written it out of spite. 'Nor do I want to start any bizarre legal proceedings. However, from a historical point of view, I think it is important that this story receives some attention so that it can be brought to a conclusion'.[137]

Yet, the political leader responsible at the time does not want to play a role in this conclusion: 'Much as I share your view that history should be written, I consider my involvement in that event too remote and too long ago to respond positively to your request.'[138]

The Dutch MoD wants anyone who is to publish a book about the Armed Forces to first submit it for review. After all, no sensitive

information should be published that could play into the hands of the enemy.[139] As a Dutchman, I naturally want to comply with this precaution.

In case I am asked, I am willing to black out passages, even if the request is not legitimate. Redacted lines within the book such as these [redacted] will arouse the curiosity of the public, no matter what, American copywriter Robert Preece told me during a collegial conversation in October 2013.[140] He is referring to former CIA agent Valerie Plame's memoir, *Fair Game*.[141] It was the many censored passages in it that attracted attention, while the outlines of what her spy agency chose to withhold from the world nevertheless leaked out in the epilogue.

In March 2014, partly in response to IGK Van Baal's earlier request, I again contact the Minister of Defence: the manuscript of *The Cover-up General* goes to Minister Jeanine Hennis with a request for a reply.[142] However, she does not respond.

According to Article 98 of the Dutch Criminal Code, one violates state secrets if one 'knows or should reasonably suspect' that 'secrecy is required by the interests of the State or its Allies'. The penalty is up to six years in prison. Fortunately, this is not an issue here, as the minister is not ordering me to delete passages from my work.

Whatever the reason for her silence, by not responding to the preview, Hennis is implicitly giving the green light. Her position suggests that she has no objections to revealing this espionage scandal, exposing (former) secret agents, and publishing their names. Nor does she think, apparently, that the revelation of the DGSE's friendly service will damage relations with Paris.

The manuscript is also presented to Home Secretary Ronald Plasterk,[143] but again there is no reaction. In the past, I was warned to keep absolutely silent about the BVD's escort project for diplomats. Apparently, in 2014, the Minister seems to have no problem with this becoming known through publication in the Netherlands, and, given the international nature of the issue, slowly beyond. He

also does not object to my description of my role as an unofficial BVD informant in the years 1999–2001.

According to the BVD, the aim of the disruption measures was to thwart me and undermine my testimony. Is this strategy still valid? If I publish, do I risk being antagonised again? The State is keeping me in the dark by not responding.

One possible explanation for the Ministers' stonewalling is the policy that if you are being sharply criticised, it is better to wait quietly until it passes. But let's not speculate. Not a single letter in the manuscript needs to be changed – all right, you can have it as you like.

Yet the manuscript does not go straight to the printer. To ensure that this daring publication would carry more weight and strengthen the debutant's position, the editors first submit the PDF to a number of eminent people. On this, I receive several recommendations, including one from Jan Pronk,[144] who, as minister, was partly responsible for the protection of Srebrenica.

Srebrenica Genocide Cemetry

For the editors, a worldly focus is a matter of course. Finding the right tone, however, is more difficult for the author, especially when writing about a highly charged subject like genocide. In order to achieve this proper tone, in September 2014 I fly to Bosnia – my first trip to the region. There I visit the Srebrenica Memorial Centre.[145]

It is only among the endless rows of graves that it becomes clear that genocide is not an abstract historical fact. We are dealing with thousands of people, all with their own stories and feelings, suddenly torn from their lives. Next to prayer columns that reject revenge as narrow-minded, but insist on hope and justice, I offer flowers to honour these silent witnesses.

CHAPTER 12

Excellency

Dutch intelligence never resolved this matter. As I have been told, the State considers my personal interest subordinate to the national interest.

Well, in April 1998, at the naval base in Amsterdam, I was informed that a soldier risks his life for his country. Although the officer laughed a little at his theatrical choice of words, he asked his audience to think seriously about it. I took up the Royal Netherlands Navy's request. I decided to dedicate myself to the tasks of the Armed Forces, to defend the national interest, and promote the international rule of law – whatever the consequences.

I have come to realise that the MoD scandal described here centres on the misappropriation of photographs of the Srebrenica tragedy, resulting thereby in the withholding of evidence of war crimes. Everyone – the government, parliament, the Dutch people and the international community – are being deceived. This is to the detriment of our democratic rule of law and the international legal order.

Should I support keeping this cover-up going? Absolutely not.

The citizens of this country and – more importantly – the widows of Srebrenica are entitled to the truth. Our country should not be misled by the MoD. The government, consisting of the monarch and the ministers, must exercise supreme authority over the Armed Forces and oblige its officials to show courage and openness.

This cover-up shows that the MoD has become disconnected from the Dutch legal system, its own core values, and its mission. Meanwhile, I have come to wonder how important it is to be rehabilitated by this organisation. Given the – not serious – way in which it is acting in this affair, on reflection I do not see the importance of this for me personally.

I will no longer ask the Minister of Defence for rehabilitation. It makes more sense for the Minister to concentrate on restoring the reputation and credibility of the intelligence service. Let's face it: over the years, many of the protagonists in this affair have lost prestige and position. Confidentiality and integrity issues have broken MoD officials, who I have witnessed crying and shaking with fear at work.

In this book I have processed my experiences of this Armed Forces adventure. Despite the disruption measures, I have allowed my forgiveness to prevail. This publication is not about revenge. A chief incentive for writing this testimony is to hold up a mirror to the Defence Ministry, for which my grandfather worked as a member of the Court Martial. After all, a government scandal linked to genocide is no small matter and should not be covered up.

In July 1998, a military intelligence officer approached me. She pursued me persistently, encouraging me to delve into the photo roll 'riot' and asking me to write intelligence reports for the deployment of Armed Forces personnel. I had to start mapping the opposing parties.

I hereby comply with the request of the Ministry of Defence. In *The Cover-Up General*, I describe the lengths to which Van Baal would go to protect his honour. In doing so, he ignores the fact that his personal interest is secondary to the interest of our country.

Honourable Minister, at your service!

Part Two

2014 – 2016

‘What is printed once belongs to the whole world for all eternity. No one has the right to destroy it.’

— Gotthold Ephraim Lessing

CHAPTER 13

Feedback

1st Edition

On 26 November 2014, Borgman publishes *The Cover-up General*. He is not bothered by the fact that a fire was set outside his flat the day before – it seems to have nothing to do with him.[146] In the restaurant-café of the daily newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* in Amsterdam, author Philip Dröge interviews me at the book launch in the presence of my dear parents, relatives, friends, a dozen fellow editors and other interested people.[147] Investigative journalist Brenno de Winter receives the first copy.

A review by crime reporter Silvan Schoonhoven, in which De Winter calls for the government to be open about this cover-up, appears in various newspapers the next day.[148] Once again I ask the Minister of Defence and the Home Secretary for clarification.[149, 150] Once again to no effect. With the book already in the bookshops, Secretary-General Richard van Zwol responds on behalf of Home Secretary Plasterk, refusing to comment on the manuscript.[151]

However, for a moment there is hope. At my request, on 2 March 2015, Van Zwol orders, on behalf of Plasterk, that the whole affair of *The Cover-up General* be investigated – a task for the Review Committee on the Intelligence and Security Services (CTIVD). He has already forwarded my complaints to this oversight agency.[152]

Two weeks later, I speak to researcher Marvin Aaron at the CTIVD office about, among other things, Lieutenant Rutten's photographic film.[153] He promises to include this issue in the investigation.

However, an astonishing letter arrives on 17 April: Permanent Secretary Van Zwol reports that he no longer wants the CTIVD to

investigate the affair.[154] His letter lacks any substantive explanation or information about the preliminary findings of the inquiry, which should also have covered the BVD's escort project. A few days later, Defence Minister Hennis announces that she also refuses to investigate the intelligence scandal.[155]

What happened was that the CTIVD boldly sent the complaint it had to investigate back to Plasterk, saying that the minister 'has no duty to investigate'.[156] Rob Bertholee, the head of BVD's successor AIVD, then gave Van Zwol the highly unusual advice in a memorandum 'not to take up the complaint after all.'[157]

'Fumbling senior officials, failing controls,' rages the Dutch opinion weekly *Nieuwe Revu* in a four-star review of *The Cover-up General*.[158] *Checkpoint*, the MoD's veterans' magazine, is also promoting the book to its readers.[159] After an enthusiastic review by their purchasing organisation,[160] public libraries across the country add the book to their collections. An audio-book for the blind and visually impaired is also being published.[161] Current affairs programme *EenVandaag* wants a radio interview?[162] Will do.

The government does not want to hear it, but more and more people do. Members of Parliament, from both the left and the right, are also starting to follow the case. Politicians, journalists and other prominent figures are sending messages of support.

At the book launch I met lawyer Simon van der Sluijs. He and his colleague Marco Gerritsen invite me to their office in Haarlem.[163] The two are suing the Dutch State on behalf of the Mothers of Srebrenica, and include a short passage on *The Cover-up General* in their pleadings of 7 July 2015.[164] The role of my book in their billion-dollar lawsuit is very modest. Nevertheless, the testimony helps them, along with much other evidence, to support the notion that the Armed Forces bear co-responsibility for the genocide and have covered up evidence of it.

During the fall, off-duty Colonel Charlef Brantz was the direct superior of Dutchbat Commander Thom Karremans as Acting Commander of the North-East Bosnia sector. In a first reaction to the book, he concludes with irony that I have become as much a friend of the Van Baals as he is. He also sends candid e-mails

about his very difficult relationship with his boss Ad van Baal and his wife.[165]

Brantz discloses that he had to put the latter in her place several times for overstepping her husband's powers.[166] In 1994, for example, she approached the secretary of General F. Pollé, Commander of the Army Emergency Staff. Her request: a government car. As Brantz was in charge of deciding on such requests at the time and happened to be waiting for Pollé in the room of the secretary, the latter passed on Mrs Van Baal's request directly to him. Brantz recounts:

> When I asked her why she needed the official car, the answer was 'to go shopping'. My answer was short: 'No'. How tedious.

Brantz suspects that she wanted a government car to show her husband's importance in her home town. He also says that his refusal was followed by an angry phone call from General Van Baal: where did he get the nerve to disregard that request?[167] Brantz: 'That wasn't the only time we had a row in 1994.'[168]

Derk Zwaan served as a soldier during the fall of Srebrenica and later became president of the veterans' association Dutchbat 3. Like many veterans, he no longer believes the official account of the fall. He has noticed over the past twenty years that 'when the name Srebrenica comes up, people in the government get anxious.' He is therefore grateful to anyone who shows that there is more to the fall of Srebrenica than the official account.[169]

A reader working for the Military Intelligence and Security Service (MIVD), who asked me to guarantee his anonymity, put it in an encrypted e-mail as follows: 'Over the years I have learned that we are not inferior to other countries. Even if we do it in an amateurish way. All the stories you hear that make you think: no, that can't be true, not in the Netherlands – they're generally true.'[170]

An experienced criminal investigator also takes time to respond to the exposé. He confirms that disruption measures are carried out in a characteristic way, that is, such that it will be difficult for the intimidated person to prove it afterwards.

The policeman reveals that – to his own dismay – some of his colleagues do indeed in a peculiar way harass citizens they consider to be a nuisance. He gives the example of such a person being followed by an unknown man wearing a raincoat as he walks down the street alone at night in the dark. He may then be told to withdraw his complaint against the government, at which point the phantom disappears.

As a result, the person feels very threatened and stressed, the investigator says. However, he cannot take legal action because there are no witnesses or evidence of the harassment. Furthermore, there is no criminal element to the threat, as there was no threat of death, physical violence or any other tangible threat. And if he does tell his story, there is a chance that he will be called paranoid. After all, it is not widely known that certain officials use psychological warfare deliberately to cause citizens sleepless nights.

To add to the tension, the government will not stop at just one incident. After a few weeks, the intimidating official will repeat the ritual, this time flanked by several 'men in raincoats', so that the citizen would be frightened even more and would not dare to proceed with his complaint.

Derk Zwaan is in a position to speak at first-hand about such intimidation. The Srebrenica veteran has been locked in a legal battle with the MoD over compensation for years. He told public broadcaster *NOS*: 'Things have happened to intimidate me. For example, I was once tapped on the shoulder by a stranger in the street who said: "Stop these legal proceedings about Srebrenica". And my lawyer was also bugged. That's all on the record.'[171]

In chat conversations, Zwaan says that he has been observed by the Special Security Operations Brigade (Dutch: 'Brigade Speciale Beveiligingsopdrachten') of the Royal Military Police, and that people have also been approached at his workplace.[172]

Zwaan confirms that this intimidation is part of the standard disruption measures employed by our intelligence services. As evidence, he shows the manual *Informatie en Opsporing* ('Information and Investigation'). In this handbook, criminal investigator Dirk van der Bel and his co-authors provide an insight into the work of

the secret agents of the AIVD and MIVD,[173] which is legitimised by the *Wet op de inlichtingen- en veiligheidsdiensten 2002* ('Intelligence and Security Services Act 2002').

> In addition to collecting data, an agent may be tasked with promoting or taking measures to protect the interests to be served by the service. [... This] concerns the power to take preventive measures (or have them taken) with the aim of discouraging or preventing certain activities that are antidemocratic or dangerous to or otherwise directed against the interests of the state, as listed in the 'Wet op de inlichtingen- en veiligheidsdiensten 2002'. These disruption measures include, for example, harassing or talking to targets, spreading disinformation, or frustrating planned acts of violence.

The aim of the state's disruption measures is to 'knock down the pillars of your life: your finances, your relationship, your job and your circle of friends. If one pillar falls, the chances of a domino effect are considerable. They put so much pressure on you that you end your legal case or even commit suicide,' says Zwaan. The aim is to 'disrupt, exhaust and silence' you.

The UN Convention against Torture prohibits any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted by or with the consent of a public official for such purposes as obtaining information, punishment, intimidation or coercion.[174] Are disruption measures contrary to this treaty, which the Netherlands has ratified?

Fast-forwarding to 2021, I contact Amnesty International in Amsterdam to ask about the legality of the state's disruption measures. But senior press officer Ruud Bosgraaf is reluctant to comment: 'The question of whether a specific case violates the UN Convention against Torture is not for a human rights organisation like Amnesty, but for the courts.'[175]

The Netherlands Helsinki Committee (NHC) also reacts cautiously. In a sympathetic e-mail, director Pepijn Gerrits writes: 'We have examined your request and read the documents provided.

They are interesting and also relevant to a number of social discussions … However, they are also issues that we at the NHC and within our programmes are not currently (and have not been in the past) directly involved with, and therefore have no expertise in.'[176]

The lack of expertise on disruption measures is remarkable given the significant frequency with which the Dutch State uses them. There is irrefutable evidence that Zwaan's experience is not unique – I know all about it. And we are not alone. Zwaan: 'Look at Fred Spijkers and [Dutchbat veteran] Dave Maat – the same thing happened to them!'[177]'

CHAPTER 14

Photo rolls

As Lieutenant Ron Rutten and other Dutchbat soldiers understood, part of the battalion's role in Srebrenica was to act as observers. As a result, they photographed and filmed the war crimes they saw.

This is also true of the veteran Remko de Bruijne, whom I interviewed for a background article in geopolitical magazine *Novini*.[178] He insists that he was one of the few soldiers who fought the Serb troops – until he ran out of ammunition. When the city fell, he was given the task of escorting buses of evacuees into Muslim territory.

The soldier 1st class was then taken hostage by Serbian soldiers. His equipment and disposable cameras were taken from him. Housed in Novo Kasaba, he tried in vain to free dozens of Muslims before they were executed. When he was released after three days, he only managed to steal his cameras back.

On arrival in Zagreb, his cameras were once again under pursuit: this time by the 'MID, the Military Police and British Intelligence.' By this time, De Bruijne had heard from colleagues that photo rolls and documentation had been confiscated. 'During my questioning they asked me if I had any photographs. I said no.'

At the interrogation, he was told to sign a non-disclosure agreement, but he refused resolutely. This got him into more trouble. The Dutchbat soldiers who turned in the photos would never see them again. Back home, De Bruijne had his rolls developed at the local photo shop: 'They all came out fine.'

It is not only Rutten's roll of film that has disappeared, writes Colonel Charlef Brantz to me, but also those of Adjutant Berend Oostveen, Ronald Geval of the bomb squad, and an unnamed Dutchbat soldier who took telephoto shots from the main gate.[179]

Lawyer Klaas Arjen Krikke, who has represented former Dutchbat soldiers, confirms to the Dutch news agency ANP that photos of them were destroyed or confiscated by the MID at the behest of senior Defence officials: 'Dutchbat soldiers were put under pressure not to reveal this.'[180] This conduct is inconsistent with criminal law, which sees not only officials prohibited from intentionally misappropriating or destroying evidence, or rendering it inadmissible, but decrees that civil servants, including military personnel, can also be imprisoned under the law if they allow these things to happen.[181]

'The State insists: we hardly saw anything. The survivors deny it, and it is also difficult for the Dutchbat soldiers because this silence makes it difficult to come to terms with it,' lawyer Marco Gerritsen told the daily *Trouw*.[182]

CHAPTER 15

Warning letter

It is 24 July 2015. I am enjoying the summer at a terrace in Antwerp when I receive an e-mail with a PDF attachment. It turns out to be a letter addressed to Coen Borgman.[183]

When I read through it, I see that Monica is behind it. It is indeed her – only this time she spells her surname differently. In Casema's pantry in former days, she gave her full name for use by yours truly. She then failed to point out that there was an alternative spelling with a 'y'. She now uses this letter instead of the 'i' or 'ij' with which her name has been alternately spelled in this dossier.

It is worth noting that the name of intelligence officer De Ruyter is also spelled differently every time. The Dutch Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on Srebrenica used the spelling 'De Ruyter' when questioning him under oath on this subject in 2002.[184] However, the press release for an *Argos* broadcast in 2015 spells his name as 'De Ruijter',[185] while the radio programme used the spelling with a 'y' in a transcription of an earlier broadcast. He was also identified here as counter-intelligence Major Rob de Ruyter and listed with his liaison officer E. Rave.[186] It was this duo who produced the deceptive MID report in 1999 containing Monica's interrogation. However, in this report, signed by De Ruyter, he uses the 'ij' variant.[187]

I haven't heard from Monica in years. Does she want to come to terms with her false accusations after all these years? Does she want to apologise? Absolutely not. Eight months after the publication of *The Cover-up General*, Monica demands that the book be banned and recalled.

The letter is a warning letter from T.G.F. Lourents of the legal expenses insurance company DAS, alleging numerous inaccuracies

in the book. I reproduce it here in full, excluding the linguistic errors in the Dutch original:[188]

> Dear Mr Borgman,
>
> To me has come:
> Ms [Monica]
> with a request for assistance regarding the following matter.
>
> Ms [Monica] informed me that the book 'The Cover-Up General' was published by SpeakEasy. ...
>
> From the introduction I quote the author Edwin Giltay: 'Nothing in this book is fiction.' In this book, Client appears frequently. In that book, Giltay describes his experiences at his then employer, Casema, where Client was also employed. Despite the fact that the book is, according to Giltay, non-fiction, Giltay ascribes a role to Client that does not correspond to reality.
>
> Without claiming to be exhaustive, Client has alerted me to numerous inaccuracies. Here are a few examples.
>
> - In the book, Giltay points out that Client is aware of the fact that the Srebrenica photo roll did not fail, but is held by the MID.
> - Client is portrayed in the book as an MID spy who had to recruit Giltay.
> - According to Giltay, Client was allegedly involved in a drug deal in the Antilles and was spying in the process.
> - Giltay states that during the investigation, which was launched in response to a complaint Giltay made to the Ombudsman, the Client's statement was a lie.
> - Giltay states in the book that Client worked for the MID for seven years.
> - According to Giltay, Ms [Monica] has reportedly been sacked from the MID.
> - According to Giltay, Mr [Monica] is said to have carried out espionage work in the 'Far East'.
> - According to Giltay, Ms [Monica] is said to have carried out

espionage work for former Mayor Deetman in The Hague.
- Giltay states in the book that Client would drive back and forth from the Frederick Barracks with sensitive documents.
- Giltay states that Client had access to personal files and that Client had seen the writer's dossier.
- Giltay states that Client had taken painting lessons from his uncle.
- Giltay states that Client was born in Scheveningen.
- Giltay states that Client once lived in Amsterdam.
- Client's age of forty in 1998, is also incorrect.

Client considers that her honour and reputation have been damaged by the many inaccuracies in this non-fiction book. She is falsely portrayed as a spy who also has special knowledge about the fate of the photo roll of Srebrenica. To this day, Srebrenica is a sensitive issue that continues to occupy national and international minds. Client believes that this publication also jeopardises Client's security. In the meantime, she has also had to take steps to ensure her safety.

In the light of the foregoing, I consider that Client has a right and an interest in seeking damages in addition to rectification. In order to limit further damage, the client also seeks an injunction against further publication and a recall of the unsold copies of the book already distributed.

Please inform me within ten days of the date of this letter that you are willing to accommodate the client by agreeing to, or cooperating with the following:
- a rectification in a national daily newspaper,
- full compensation to Client,
- a ban on further publication (both physical reprint and digital),
- a recall of copies already distributed.

If you do not respond, or do not respond in time, or do not respond adequately, then it is my duty to take you and Mr Giltay to court in order to achieve this.

> As this letter concerns the author, Edwin Giltay will also receive a copy at edwingiltay@gmail.com.
>
> In order to protect the rights of Client, I hereby inform you that if you do not respond within ten days of the date of this letter, or if you do not accept the proposal, it will lapse in its entirety. If this is the case, you may not rely on the contents of this letter.
>
> If you have any queries following this letter, please contact me on 020–6518888.
>
> I trust I have provided you with sufficient information and look forward to hearing from you.
>
> Kind regards,
> DAS
> T.G.F. Lourents, LLM

The content of the letter is perplexing. The 'inaccuracies' raised are not described as such in my book. Besides, how can Monica accuse me of making a mockery of the facts when she herself keeps spelling her name differently? And then the comment about her safety being at stake – she seems to be seeing ghosts.

I get in touch with Gerritsen and Van der Sluijs. In a long telephone conversation, Gerritsen points out that I am in a strong position: for the courts, freedom of expression is very important and judges are very reluctant to censor books. 'You wrote your book with a clear conscience for public debate. And since Monica has attacked you in the past, of course you are allowed to defend yourself in your book.'[189]

One of my friends has put forward an audacious hypothesis: the state secretly set up Monica as a pawn to question my credibility. This theory is supported by the fact that my testimony is being used in the trial of the Mothers of Srebrenica, which is somewhat detrimental to the State.

Nevertheless, the hypothesis is questionable. Admittedly, Monica has attacked me in the past, but the Armed Forces would be taking a big gamble if they were to rely on her fabrications again.

Would the MoD dare to support her only covertly and, as it were, behind her back?

When I present the warning letter to Colonel Brantz, he remarks: 'Spies are used to making a mockery of reality and bending it to suit their personal truth'. He finds it sad that Monica is threatening to ban the book almost a year after its publication: it had already been on people's book shelves for a long time.[190]

Former minister Jan Pronk sees a silver lining in the situation, he tells me by e-mail. The warning letter can also be regarded as an opportunity to draw attention to the abuses that have been observed. 'That's why you wrote the book.'[191] That's right – on the same day I contact investigative journalist Brenno de Winter.[192] I give him the scoop and send him several documents in the dossier.[193]

He examines the case and calls Lourents, who demanded a response within ten days. But what is the matter? He is on holiday and DAS cannot find a replacement at short notice.[194] So there was no need for the quick response time at all.

De Winter formulates eight questions. He e-mails them to a DAS spokesman on 31 July:[195]

> Dear Mr Wagenaar,
>
> As discussed, I would like to put a few points on the table:
>
> 1. The demand is that the book be withdrawn from circulation. Your client wanted no contact with Giltay, and the book was submitted to the Ministry of Defence for comment and response six months before publication. Wouldn't it have been appropriate to raise objections at this stage?
> 2. The book has already been launched on the market in 2014. Isn't it a bit late to be raising objections?
> 3. According to the author, a number of allegations have been made against him by the claimant; he considers the book to be his rebuttal (or reply). There also seems to be documentation of this (some of which I have seen). I do not read this in the letter. Can you give us your opinion on this?

4. According to the letter from DAS: 'Client is portrayed in the book as an MID spy who had to recruit Giltay.' Between 8 February 1999 and 12 February 1999, Ms [Monica] was interviewed as part of an internal investigation. The resulting report states that she then said that she had indeed asked Giltay to apply to the MID. Isn't that the point of recruiting?
5. The letter from DAS says: 'According to Giltay, Client was allegedly involved in a drug deal in the Antilles and was spying in the process.' But that is not what the book says. …
6. I also notice that a number of claims are presented in a more straightforward way than they are in the book (and sometimes they are not there at all). For example: the reference to the Far East, the alleged spying for Deetman, the documents. Does DAS check such allegations before a claim is made?
7. If there are threats, has a report actually been made or has action been taken, as the public prosecutor's office would normally do in such cases?
8. Does the claimant feel that the Ministry of Defence was negligent in failing to consider the work from the point of view of personal risk? Particularly now that it is clear that there was a six-month gap between the submission of the full manuscript and the publication of the book?

Yours faithfully,
Brenno de Winter

In the absence of a response, the news portal *nu.nl* publishes an article by De Winter on 4 August without a rebuttal.[196] Ten minutes later, a press release goes out.[197] Immediately, the editors of the popular TV talk show *Jinek* call. Do I want to be on the evening show? Of course. But that's not going to happen. In fact, Eva Jinek also wants Monica on the show, but the latter declines the invitation to tell her story.[198]

EenVandaag's radio editors call too. The current affairs programme would like to do a segment, on the condition that Monica

or DAS provide a response.[199] Her demand for a rectification shows that she is not afraid of publicity, yet nonetheless she is withdrawing. The *EenVandaag* editorial board comments on the retreat with the exclamation: 'Very strange!'[200]

As I have not been contacted directly by DAS, it is not for me to respond to the claims made by the legal service provider. That's up to SpeakEasy's Coen Borgman, who tells the press he's not worried. Literary magazine *Boekblad* writes: 'According to Borgman, the ball is in the accuser's court and he faces the outcome with confidence.'[201]

On a less pleasant note, Uncle Frans – who is now suffering from dementia – was harassed in his nursing home on 6 August. A visitor, who introduced herself as Anita and claimed to be a friend, subjected Frans to a barrage of questions. A nurse, who was also awkwardly questioned, did not trust her at all. Neither did the security guard she called in.[202]

I share this suspicion, as there is no Anita in Frans' circle of friends and mailing list.[203] Given the description of the troublemaker, it could have been Monica.

While former colleagues of Ad van Baal privately praise my portrayal of his wife in *The Cover-up General*, the protagonist remained silent. In late August, however, this situation takes a surprising turn. General Van Baal – now off duty – comes out of his shell. Exactly nine months after the book's launch, an e-mail arrives from editor-in-chief Fred Lardenoye: 'In the next *Checkpoint* we will report on the former MID employee's objections and your response to her. We will also report that Lieutenant General Van Baal echoes these criticisms and denies that his wife ever worked for the MID.'[204]

Excuse me – has Van Baal even read the book? Nowhere does it say that his wife works for the MID. After all, there are several secret services.

The comment made by the off-duty general suggests that I was wrong. I hereby counter this criticism. Following Monica, Van Baal claims that the book is not based on facts, but then as an example

of a purported error provides a detail which arises clearly from his own misreading.

Van Baal's indignation is misplaced, his denial unfounded. He might as well have thrown in that his wife never worked at McDonald's.

It is easy for Van Baal to cry out, without any evidence or justification, that I am wrong and therefore he is not to blame. The constructive way would be simply to explain the following: why his wife joined Casema in the first place, and why under her maiden name? Why did she respond so cagily to legitimate questions about it? Why did she retreat to the toilet when a spy, taking photographs, entered Casema's premises? Was she properly vetted for her observation work?

Monica claims that there are details in the book that are not there. How can a general be so unwise as to join in this completely unfounded criticism? For the record, Van Baal commented on Monica as Inspector General of the Armed Forces in 2004. He then distanced himself from her criticism of me – I have that letter in black and white.[205] Why the turnaround? Does he now agree with her criticism because he wants this book, in which he is the main character, to be banned?

According to Monica, Srebrenica veterans might do something to her because of the publication,[206] by which statement she portrays them as potentially dangerous idiots. Off-duty General Van Baal then reinforces this harmful image in the media by supporting her criticism. As a former Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces, he thus indirectly stigmatises his own men.

In reality, however, Van Baal is surely not concerned with the danger Monica claims to be in. Nor is there any real, acute danger. No, it is not Monica's life that is at stake here, but Van Baal's reputation. A security risk is being used as a pretext to restrict freedom of expression and the print press regarding Srebrenica.

On 19 September, my author tour takes me to the historic city of Maastricht. A 13th-century Gothic church, once home to a monastic order that burned heterodox books, now houses a large bookshop

called Dominicanen. Before the journalist Silvan Schoonhoven interviews me in the choir in front of an audience,[207] we have a chat in the pantry.

He tells me that he has tried to call the Van Baals about ten times for an article he is writing. He especially wants to speak to Mrs Van Baal himself, but he keeps getting voice-mail. He has left a message – but no call back.

CHAPTER 16

Book ban

On 24 July 2015, DAS threatened to sue if Coen Borgman 'did not respond, or did not respond in time, or did not respond adequately'. However, after Brenno de Winter undercut their peculiar claims, it was not expected that DAS would make any further moves.

On 7 October, 75 days after the summons, a surprise e-mail arrives from Thunnissen of STV Mahieu Lawyers. It turns out that DAS has outsourced the case to him. He says he is preparing preliminary proceedings against Borgman and myself, for which he requests our availability for the court hearing.[208]

I immediately set to work on our defence. With the help of Marco Gerritsen, a helpful law firm specialising in publishing law is found the very same day: Boekx Lawyers in Amsterdam.[209]

Meanwhile, Borgman starts talking to Monica and Thunnissen. This is the right thing to do, because as a publisher he has decided to take the risk of publication. But he does not reveal what exactly is being discussed.[210] A few days later, Thunnissen only challenges me: Monica versus Giltay is imminent. So I am on my own. The trial is scheduled on 27 November.[211]

The nine-page summons is largely an elaboration of the warning letter. Monica is asking the District Court of The Hague by way of an emergency procedure to order me to publish a rectification in three national newspapers. The text – which puts her real name in the spotlight – is already there: 'In my book, The Cover-up General, I gave [Monica] a major role. Everything I wrote about her is false. It is not non-fiction; it is pure fiction that I should not have published without her permission.'

The summons continues: 'Giltay is also being sued for damages,

which will be determined in the main proceedings, and for which an advance payment of €10,000 is being sought in these preliminary proceedings. It is further demanded that Giltay refrain from having his book reprinted by anyone, and also removes and keeps removed the chapters of the book that have appeared on the Internet, and finally that he refrain from any further promotion of his book …, all this on pain of a fine of €1,000 per day.'

I am not impressed. The sums are extravagant, the demand for rectification poorly considered. Although Monica complains about her safety, she insists on publicity that could well see her past as a spy become a national talking point. As with Uncle Frans, there may well be more people out there who have a bone to pick with her.

Point 5 of the summons reads as follows: she 'is experiencing the effects of the way she has been portrayed in the book and is suffering physical and psychological discomfort as a result, for which she has also sought treatment.'

It is understandable that those with a few things in their past don't like reading about their mistakes anywhere. But that is no reason to put the freedom of the press under threat. Monica should not take her discomfort out on me.

Perhaps there is little sympathy for her in these pages. The fact is that she pursued me in an extraordinarily intrusive manner, only to later engage in character assassination – including of Jasper. It was partly because of her misbehaviour that the affair escalated.

Point 2 states: Monica read the book 'with increasing dismay and anger and then contacted her former employer, the Ministry of Defence, who, like her, had been affected by the book's contents. Well, the MoD was apparently aware of the book but decided not to take any action against it, not realising that Monica, who appears frequently in the book, was one of their former employees.'

So the MoD would not have realised that Monica was an MID employee? This is implausible because she is precisely referred to throughout the book as an employee of the MID. Moreover, when I offered Minister Hennis an advance copy of the book, I wrote to her that it was about the MID.[212] If the protection of former employees

has indeed been overlooked and Monica should fear for her life as a result, the latter would be better off taking the Minister to court.

Back to the summons: 'She is also, as the Ministry of Defence told her, in danger. It only takes one (ex-)soldier with a Srebrenica background and post-traumatic disorder to be annoyed by [Monica's] imprudence, as described in the book about the photo roll that became infamous for allegedly not being developed. These are issues that require serious thought.'

From the crooked Dutch sentences above, we can infer that, according to Monica, the Ministry has warned her that a mentally ill veteran might do something to her. According to Derk Zwaan of the Dutchbat 3 veterans' association, this is an unlikely scenario:[213]

> I can never tell you one hundred percent that I speak for all Dutchbat veterans and that it is out of the question that people will react violently, but I cannot imagine that any aggression, violent or otherwise, will be directed towards the claimant. Especially now, a year after the publication of your book, it seems impossible. I think people want the book banned because more information will come out about the fall of the enclave and it might confirm what you describe in your book.

Colonel Brantz also sees no security risk. According to him, arguments are being dragged in haphazardly here.[214]

The view of the war veterans is reassuring, as is the notion that Monica has not been placed in a safe house. In any case, a clarification from Minister Hennis seems appropriate. Harry van Bommel, a member of the House of Representatives, considers asking her questions about this, but ultimately decides not to do so.[215] It is unlikely that Hennis will answer, as this would get her in trouble. If she says yes, she admits that she failed to protect Monica. If she says no, and then something happens to Monica, she will also get in trouble.[216] In other words, a Catch-22.

At the Boekx office, I meet my new lawyer Jurian van Groenendaal and his colleague Matthijs Kaaks. I have brought a confidant – he

is taking notes.[217] The legal team receives all relevant case documents, carefully organised.

Kaaks recommends that Monica be made entirely anonymous in the reprinting of and promotion of the book.[218] No problem. The former spy did not use a cover name during her infiltration; she merely faked the spelling of her name. I am happy to correct her imprudence in this regard.

Van Groenendaal is making this commitment to the opposing party in order to avoid costly and unnecessary litigation. He also confirms that we will continue to abide by this agreement regardless of whether the lawsuit proceeds or not. However, he has a word of warning for Monica: 'I should point out that the proceedings you have initiated are public. This applies both to the hearing of the case and to the judgement that will result from it. You should therefore bear in mind that your name may become public in the course of the proceedings.'[219]

He also writes that we are open to discussing changing certain details contained in the book's text, on the condition that Monica can provide evidence related to them.[220]

A few days later, Thunnissen rejects the settlement offer. He provides no evidence of possible imperfections and replies that his client considers the changes to be inadequate.[221]

It's the day before the hearing. The deadline for submitting evidence to the court has just passed. We offered a total of seventeen exhibits; the other side offered zero.

This is yet another indication that the character assassinations of 1999 are built on quicksand. Monica made something up, counter-intelligence officer De Ruyter wrote it down, Secretary-General Barth signed it and then sent it out into the world on behalf of Minister De Grave as if it were the truth.[222] But it's nonsense.

On 27 November 2015, the emergency hearing takes place at the Palace of Justice in The Hague. First, Judge M.E. Groeneveld-Stubbe gives the floor to my lawyer, who begins his plea in a subdued tone: the material as presented in *The Cover-up General* is by no means unfounded, let alone – contrary to what has been claimed – fabricated from start to finish.[223] 'This is a well-documented and

verifiable work that feeds the public debate,' as evidenced by the thorough documentation alone, as well as reviews and reactions from veterans and politicians.

Thunnissen suddenly interjects. This is all made up! None of it is true, he shouts in indignation. To back up his words, he introduces an overweight serviceman sitting in the audience. The man turns out to be off-duty Navy Captain Wouter van Straten, former Head of MID's Intelligence Department.

Van Straten acts as if he has been given the floor. Furious, he shouts that he has not been sacked from the MID. And certainly not 'summarily', he throws in my direction. Thunnissen backs this up by pointing out that the naval rank of captain is the equivalent to colonel – so the gentleman once represented quite a lot.

However, his resignation is not mentioned anywhere. Apparently the naval officer mistook himself for the marine colonel discussed on pages 31, 49 and 92.

After the disturbing interruption, Van Groenendaal continues calmly. But when he talks about the chilling effect of this trial, he is interrupted again. Groeneveld seems unfamiliar with the legal term 'chilling effect'. It refers to the fact that suing for damages leads to self-censorship, which we don't want to see in our society.

Van Groenendaal parries the alleged falsehoods in *The Cover-up General* with extensive documentation. From the pleading:

> [Monica] sticks to the bare assertion that a particular statement made by Giltay would be 'untrue' or even 'a lie'. Giltay argues that the facts support all his statements. That [Monica] had a second job as an MID officer at Casema is undeniable. That she was open about it is also crystal clear. That there was talk of applying to the MID is also undisputed and is conclusively shown in exhibit 14. It is also established that at some point [Monica] became very negative towards Giltay and manipulated his personal environment (the man with whom Giltay had a relationship) (see exhibits 16A–16B). …
>
> Since [Monica's] argument is that her allegations about the

> secret service have been misrepresented, the burden of proof is on her: ...
>
> [In a case from 2013] the journalist's notes were found to be decisive. In this context, Giltay can refer to his personal notes in the form of a report from 1999. This document has never been shown to anyone before and was used by Giltay to record his experiences at the time (exhibit 17 – forwarded). The book follows these recorded notes almost verbatim.

Van Groenendaal then gives a point-by-point reply to the claims:

> All of [Monica's] claims are disproportionate. Banning the entire book and even forbidding talking about it on future occasions is so absurd that it needs no further explanation as to why this is going too far. ...
>
> The claims for rectification are unusual, and the interest in privacy on which [Monica] bases her claims is not suitable for the rectification. That can only be a matter of correcting concrete facts. It is even against [Monica's] interests to obtaining rectification in three national dailies.
>
> The demanded text and method of rectification also violate the law and the test of necessity, because they go too far and are completely open-ended. It is a text that does not focus on concrete facts or actions: the entire content of the book must be described as 'false'. A form of public penance or punishment. ...
>
> Finally, the damages claimed have not been substantiated in any way.

The plea is followed, among other things, by a discussion about the possibility of rectification. When Groeneveld asks what exactly it is that needs to be corrected, Thunnissen refuses to answer. Everything in the book is wrong, he says with a poker face. He also claims that he can actually produce evidence – demonstratively waving a folder around the courtroom.

His client claims that she had nothing to do with intelligence work at the MID, without specifying what she actually did there.

That doesn't sound convincing. After all, her boss, Van Straten, was Head of the Intelligence Department of the MID (see also page 58). Moreover, on her LinkedIn profile – found by spelling her surname with a 'y' – she mentions the position she held in 1998: 'Assistant Department Intell MID'.[224] In this way, she presents herself to the outside world as a former intelligence officer.

Without hesitation, reality is being turned on its head. Monica, for example, complains about the distress the publication has allegedly caused her, claiming that she is suffering psychologically. In doing so, she explains what her main interest is: receiving high damages.

After a good hour and a half, Groeneveld ends the session. She is apparently busy. At the beginning she said that she had not got around to reading the whole book. Nevertheless, she plans to deliver her judgement on 11 December.

Afterwards, Van Groenendaal is very satisfied. According to him, the opposing team did a shoddy job. The only thing that worries him is Groeneveld's lack of knowledge of publication law.

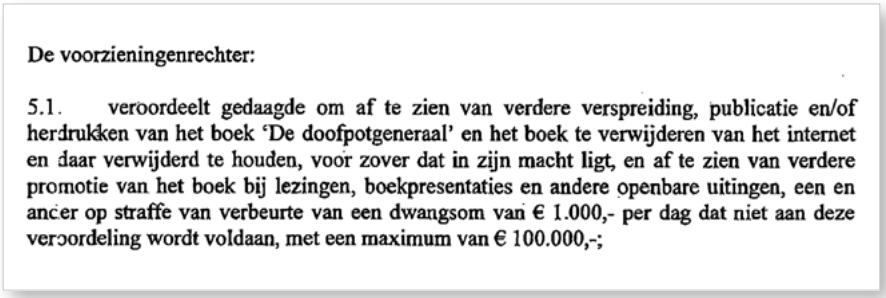
He goes on to explain that Thunnissen might as well have been waving a copy of *Donald Duck*. The man can claim whatever he wants: at this stage it is too late to submit documents. And the other drama, with the former intelligence chief, should have no impact either, because no witnesses are heard during preliminary proceedings. As an experienced lawyer, Thunnissen knows this too.

On 11 December it is announced that Groeneveld is ill and that the judgement will be postponed. Out of curiosity, I call the court a few days later to find out that the decision has been delivered that morning. But they have forgotten to fax it to my lawyer.

He calls me half an hour later. We have lost! We are speechless. Van Groenendaal explains that the claims for rectification and compensation have been rejected. There is neither talk of a call-back. But I am forbidden to distribute the book or talk about it anymore.

Van Groenendaal immediately makes it clear: 'This judgement can well be challenged on appeal.'[225] He e-mails a copy of the faxed decision.[226] It reads in part:

> The injunction judge:
>
> 5.1 orders the defendant to refrain from any further distribution, publication, and/or reprinting of the book 'The Cover-up General', to remove the book from the internet and to keep it off the internet as far as it is in his power to do so, and to refrain from any further promotion of the book in lectures, book launches and other public utterances, on penalty of a fine of €1,000 for each day of non-compliance, up to a maximum of €100,000.



De voorzieningenrechter:

5.1. veroordeelt gedaagde om af te zien van verdere verspreiding, publicatie en/of herdrukken van het boek 'De doofpotgeneraal' en het boek te verwijderen van het internet en daar verwijderd te houden, voor zover dat in zijn macht ligt, en af te zien van verdere promotie van het boek bij lezingen, boekpresentaties en andere openbare uitingen, een en ander op straffe van verbeurte van een dwangsom van € 1.000,- per dag dat niet aan deze veroordeling wordt voldaan, met een maximum van € 100.000,-;

The censorship ruling, issued by fax

The next morning, the four of us meet at Boekx. With the ban on distribution and promotion, 'an unworkable and unnecessarily broad penalty has been imposed,' says Van Groenendaal. The last three words of the clause 'to refrain from further promotion of the book in lectures, book presentations and other public utterances', are particularly unclear. If it had said 'in other public venues', I would have known where things stood. But it doesn't.

The wording chosen is so vague that it is not clear how far the gag order extends. After all, I am forbidden to speak out loud about a book that is partly autobiographical. For example, am I no longer allowed publicly to defend myself against the state's claim in the Ombudsman's report that I am insane? If I were to talk about Uncle Frans in the tram, would I have to give Monica a thousand euro?

Too crazy for words. So, according to my lawyer, the judgement is Kafkaesque.

'Legally, the judgement is flawed on all sides. It can never pass the necessity test under Article 10(2) ECHR.'[227] Van Groenendaal is referring to the European Convention on Human Rights. Under this agreement, freedom of expression and freedom of the press should not be curtailed – certainly not in the drastic way the court is decreeing here.

There are several perplexing passages in the ruling. How about:

> The claimant has argued, with reasons, that there are many inaccuracies in the book and has given several examples of factual inaccuracies and of statements that she claims not to have made. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that a number of facts are incorrect. This concerns, for example, the misspelling of the claimant's surname in the book – about which the defendant stated that he did not know how her name was spelled – and the giving of an incorrect age for the claimant. It must be conceded to the defendant that these inaccuracies are not material and do not have a significant impact on the claimant's personal life, but they do raise questions about the level of accuracy exercised by the defendant in writing his book.

If Groeneveld had read *The Cover-up General* in its entirety, she would have come to a different conclusion. Note 49 (on page 222) contains a detailed discussion of the different spellings. Monica's exact age could not be verified because she obstructed the rebuttal.

Groeneveld also ignores the fact that it is the method of operation of intelligence officers to assume false identities with fabricated personalities and dates of birth. For example, take counter-intelligence agent Major De Ruyter, who, during interrogations, alternates between being called 'De Ruyter' and 'De Ruijter'. The handbook *Informatie en Opsporing* teaches spies: 'An agent may, in the performance of his duties, act under cover of an assumed identity or capacity, for example by using a false name'.[228]

I also learn from the website of review committee CTIVD that in

many cases the names of secret agents are deliberately misspelled. Indeed, simply using a false spelling is obviously a lot more subtle and thus also far less troublesome than adopting an all-new cover identity. In any case, these small variations do help to create some confusion, as evidenced by the judgement that blames yours truly for the falsification of the spelling of Monica's surname.

What if I were to use the same reasoning and similar words as Groeneveld? Then I would argue, with reasons, that there are many inaccuracies in the judgement. I can also prove that a number of facts are incorrect. This concerns, for example, the misspelling of the surname of the claimant's lawyer. According to the register of the Netherlands Bar, his name is R.F. Thunnissen.[229] It is therefore not 'R.F. Thunissen' with a single 'n', as the judge writes in her ruling. The mention of an incorrect number is also apparent on close reading of the decision: section 5.2 refers to section 4.11, whereas it should be 4.12.[230] It must be conceded to the judge that these inaccuracies are not material, but they do raise questions about the level of accuracy exercised by the judge in delivering her judgement.

Banning a book that is already out of print is a blow to press freedom. All because of a misplaced letter in Monica's name and an incorrectly given age, which are not my fault.

It is rare to ban a book in the Netherlands, and even rarer to muzzle a writer. But it is happening now. Without even a shred of evidence from the other side, freedom of speech is being restricted.

It is not only Monica's role as represented in the book that is censored. The ruling bans all kinds of testimony, including the epilogue by Hans Laroes, the former editor-in-chief of the Dutch national television news broadcaster *NOS*. His freedom of speech has thus also been compromised – as if we are living in a totalitarian state.

Nor am I allowed to reveal any new information about our former colleague Mark. Earlier this year, I read on his LinkedIn profile that from May 1995 to September 2000 he worked as a 'special investigation officer'.[231] So not only was he a telephone salesman in a department where espionage crimes were committed, but – as he now discloses – he was also a government detective. This

information matters. However, I am no longer allowed to pay any attention to it.

There are other implications of the book ban: it makes it rather uncomfortable for the Mothers of Srebrenica to refer to *The Cover-up General* in their lawsuit against the Dutch State. This hinders the truth about Srebrenica and the photographic film.

In Boekx's office we quickly agree: we will appeal. 'If necessary, we will go all the way to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg,' says a combative Van Groenendaal.

CHAPTER 17

Media

Now that I am no longer allowed to promote the book, I am blacking out my website and no longer publicly posting about it on Facebook and Twitter. Nevertheless, Thunnissen responds immediately. On 17 December 2015, he e-mails Van Groenendaal that, 'given the spirit of the ruling', I should also remove old posts about *The Cover-up General* from my social media profiles. To achieve this, he tries to force the issue by threatening to impose penalty payments.[232]

Although only 'further' promotion is banned, Thunnissen explains the judgement as requiring that my Facebook and Twitter time lines be wiped clean – as if *The Cover-up General* had never come out.

The pressure is on to erase this Srebrenica-related espionage scandal from the World Wide Web and thus from history. Under penalty of a thousand euro a day. This is reminiscent of George Orwell's *1984*, as if I had been silenced by the Ministry of Truth in order to falsify history.

When I discuss the judgement in confidence with friends, one question always comes up: was the court influenced from above and is the State behind it? Either way, the consensus is that the erosion of press freedom is a danger to the democracy of our country. A friend of mine, an editor, writes a message to the media: 'INFORMAL LETTER – NOT FOR PUBLICATION: court silences author'.

Silvan Schoonhoven is the first to report the news. His article 'Ban on book about spies' appears in several daily newspapers.[233] The public news broadcasters *NOS* and *PowNed* also report on the astonishing judgement,[234, 235] with other media outlets following suit.[236] In this way, Monica enters the national spotlight, with all three variants of her name being covered.

A few days later, the judgement makes the headlines in the Balkans. An article appears in the Bosnian daily *Dnevni avaz*: 'Author announces appeal: Dutch court bans book on Srebrenica!' by Alosman Husejnović.[237]

Subsequently, daily newspapers, television stations and news websites in former Yugoslavia – from Slovenia to Macedonia – report on the Hague censorship. These include the respected Serbian newspaper *Politika*.[238] Translated from Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Serbian and Slovenian, the Balkan press is remarkably united: 'Dutch judge's ruling SHOCKS Bosnia and Herzegovina and especially SREBRENICA',[239] 'Marijuana is allowed there, but not a book on Srebrenica',[240] and 'Hague court bans book on role of Dutch army in Srebrenica'.[241]

Žana Božinovska of Macedonian daily *Dnevnik* (Cyrillic: Дневник) wants an interview.[242] Despite the gag order, I am going ahead with this due to a sloppy formal error: the judgement was not delivered to me by a bailiff. To my lawyer's surprise, it was only faxed to him. And without a formal delivery, it is definitely not possible to impose penalties.

Дневник
Холандскиот суд забранил книга за Сребреница по барање на бивша шпионка
Frontpage *Dnevnik*

Dnevnik features the interview prominently with a photo – of me handing De Winter the first copy – on its front page: '21st century, European Union, author Edwin Giltay: Dutch court bans book on Srebrenica at request of ex-spy'.[243] Some subheadings: 'No one understands the ruling' and 'Former spy appears in court without evidence'.

Surprisingly, the gag order offers opportunities for publicity. The fact that my testimony of government

abuses is being discredited by the judge is generating interest in this dossier. And not just over the character assassination and censorship, which I see as diversionary tactics. The truth about this genocide related cover-up scandal is coming out – at home and abroad.

This phenomenon is known as the Streisand effect, named after the singer Barbra Streisand. She once sued to ban an aerial photograph of her mansion. Her resistance to openness was the subject of worldwide scorn, with the result that the photo ended up reaching an audience of millions.

Conflict analyst Caspar ten Dam is a committed co-organiser of the annual Srebrenica commemoration in The Hague. He sends out a press release about the events, which is promptly picked up by *Dnevni avaz*: 'Following the ban of the book on Srebrenica, we will fight for justice all the way to the European Court of Human Rights!'[244]

The publicity in the Balkans shows that I cannot be silenced easily. This determination also emerges in an interview with Dutch opinion magazine *Nieuwe Revu*.[245] The State of the Netherlands has recognised it before: I am not easy to break.

CHAPTER 18

Court of Appeal

On 8 January 2016, we file an appeal.[246] In the Court of Appeal in The Hague it is now Giltay versus Monica – the roles have been reversed. My lawyer shows true thoroughgoing diligence: the summons is 23 pages long. I am no longer bothered by the silence of the publisher, Borgman.

Van Groenendaal's appeal begins with a reference to the European Convention on Human Rights and previous rulings by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in Strasbourg reviewing the convention:

> Giltay first argues that these orders [the distribution and speaking ban] by the preliminary court are disproportionate and manifestly contrary to the necessity test under Article 10(2) ECHR and the jurisprudence developed by the ECtHR. The interim judge did not examine the proportionality and subsidiarity of the measures imposed.

The latter implies that the District Court of The Hague did not consider whether the measures imposed were appropriate. Could they not have been less intrusive in order to achieve a solution? Van Groenendaal: 'For these reasons, Giltay considers the judgement to be a serious miscarriage of justice.'

He then points out, among other things, that the other party did not provide any evidence:

> Giltay also argues that there is no factual basis for granting the claims. The defendant [Monica] is suing on the basis of a very short summons without exhibits … In Giltay's view, Monica

> failed to comply with her duty to disclose evidence and, for that reason alone, the claims should have been dismissed.

Nine complaints focus on what is wrong with the judgement. Van Groenendaal also includes three articles that appeared in the Balkans – along with English translations – because they show that *The Cover-up General* is feeding public debate in Europe.[247] He also emphasises that:

> Furthermore, the judge does not dwell for a second on [Monica's] bold assertion in the official MID report (exhibit 14) that Giltay was allegedly dismissed for 'inappropriate and irritating behaviour'. This was refuted by Giltay in his pleadings, specifically points 33 et seq. and exhibits 13A–13C quoted therein. According to Giltay, this shows how unfairly the court dealt with the facts of the case. The court turned a blind eye towards evidence of [Monica's] misrepresentation and distortion of the truth. The evidence Giltay has to support his version of the facts was dismissed without mercy. The same goes for [Monica's] questionable behaviour towards [Jasper], who twice stated in writing that [Monica] had indicated to him that Giltay was a dangerous person.

Meanwhile, the interview with me has appeared in the *Nieuwe Revu* with a large portrait photo and the title: 'My book is actually being read more now'.[248] Agitated, Thunnissen e-mails my lawyer about all the publicity:[249]

> Please advise your client that this is unacceptable and that my client's current position is that he has forfeited penalties which I hereby demand to be specified for each day and each utterance made by your client. The figure is large, but your client has already taken it upon himself to owe my client a considerable sum.

Some friends are worried: will this soon cost tens of thousands of euro? But there is no need to worry, because the judgement was never correctly handed down to me.

Van Groenendaal replies that this does not constitute promoting *The Cover-up General*.[250] I merely explained the judgement published by the District Court and did not violate it. My lawyer then offers to help his colleague by sending him the documents we had previously submitted to the court. Thunnissen had indeed lost them.

On 2 February, a response memorandum arrives, Thunnissen's written response to our summons.[251] At the District Court, he waved a 'folder of evidence': Is he coming out with it now or was he bluffing? The latter. The papers contain only one exhibit, nothing more.

Exhibit 1 contains a letter to Monica from Head of the MID Vandeweijer dated 3 November 1998, that is, several months before De Grave dismissed him. The letter was signed on behalf of Deputy Minister Henk van Hoof,[252] who is best known today for allegedly threatening Fred Spijkers with death in 2000 in order to deter him from disclosing certain documents – but that aside.[253]

Vandeweijer wrote to Monica: 'Further to your request of 28 October 1998, I hereby inform you that you have been granted an honourable discharge with effect from 1 January 1998, in accordance with Article 113(1) and (5) of the *Burgerlijk Ambtenarenreglement Defensie* (Civil Servants' Regulations of the MoD).'

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from putting the dates in the letter in chronological order: Monica was granted discharge on 3 November 1998, with effect from 1 January earlier that year. This is extremely strange. It raises the question of whether there has been a typing error, or whether the MoD is deliberately trying to evade responsibility for Monica's failure as an intelligence officer at Casema in mid-1998 with the official dismissal date.

A confidant comments: 'I think at MID they don't want to get their fingers burned on this case, so they don't want openly to support [Monica], let alone with fabricated evidence, because that's sure to attract press interest and then heads will roll.'[254]

Without offering any evidence, the response memorandum is little more than 15 pages of fluff. I e-mail Van Groenendaal: 'As long as you write a lot, no one will notice the lack of substance – that

must have been the thought of your esteemed colleague.'[255] It is funny, however, to come across a Freudian slip in such a colourless text, when the author spontaneously switches from the term 'chilling effect' to 'cheerleader effect'. Rather than focusing on the chilling effect of the book ban, he prefers to think of a team of hot cheerleaders. I can well imagine.

The memorandum states that Monica does not recall 'ever having spoken' to Jasper. This contradicts what she said when interrogated by the MID in 1999: 'She was familiar with the fact that [Jasper] used drugs because he openly admitted to taking the occasional "pill".'[256]

By the way, Jasper told me that he and Monica talked a lot about homosexuality at Casema. She played an admirable role in helping him to come to terms with his orientation. Less admirably, she later cast suspicion on me and manipulated him into breaking off our relationship. To this effect Jasper has made written statements, which have been filed as exhibits.[257] And what about paragraph 36?

> Giltay goes on to complain about [Monica's] claim that he would have been sacked from Casema for inappropriate militant behaviour. She would have been wrong to make this argument as it has since been refuted by Giltay in writing, with evidence. The District Court did not address this, but this was no different from the information [Monica] had, and therefore this fact and Giltay's rebuttal were not relevant to the judgement.

Monica is sloppily quoted here by her own lawyer. Her unfounded accusation was not 'inappropriately militant behaviour' but 'inappropriate and irritating behaviour'. Monica also described me as 'completely insane', which was also published as Minister De Grave's response in the Ombudsman's report 1999/507.

In 2015, Minister Hennis refused to investigate the espionage affair described in *The Cover-up General*. Her defence: 'In this context, I consider it significant that the National Ombudsman investigated your complaints against the then MID in 1999 and declared them unfounded.'[258] The Minister is thus relying on a report based on

allegations that her predecessor, De Grave, took over from Monica, which the latter now says I have refuted with evidence.

This means that the appeal is producing early results: since De Grave has evidently given false information to the Ombudsman, Hennis can no longer hide behind the Ombudsman's investigation. Several newspapers report on this.[259] A confidant comments by e-mail:[260]

> I like the fact that you are not only standing up for what is primarily at stake in this case, the ridiculous ban on publication (and the even more outrageous obligation to keep silent. Surely, if you did not already doubt the integrity of the previous judge, this removes any doubt: totally out of place, neither in line with current jurisprudence nor with the principles we are trying to uphold in a state of law!)
>
> But you also want to reopen this case. ... Something our fellow readers ;-) won't be too happy about, but at the same time they won't mind too much because it's been a while and no heads are going to roll at this point. This for the consideration of third parties ;-)
>
> ... For the State to try personally to damage the whistleblower in a cover-up affair is unfortunately common – it is no different with our 'allies' – but still unacceptable. I would definitely take it up, with the Ombudsman or the courts, and not let them get away with it. The bottom line should just come out.

Since it is not inconceivable that my internet and phone traffic is being intercepted, I find it amusing that any intelligence officers reading this e-mail are being addressed here. However, it seems to me that it makes more sense for them to monitor and apprehend terrorists than innocent civilians.

If I were to follow the confidant's advice, it would not be so much out of self-interest. It is more a question of finding out more about what is going on in the Srebrenica dossier.

On the advice of my lawyer, several copies of *The Cover-up General* are sent to the Court of Appeal so that the three judges can read

it at the same time. However, Monica also has submitted a copy, which piques my interest.[261]

Boekx arranges an appointment for me at the court. At the Palace of Justice, an usher leads me through long, narrow corridors to where Monica's copy of the 'forbidden book' is kept. In the process, I almost bump into Peter Blok, who will preside over the appeal.[262]

It turns out that Monica's copy is full of under-linings and annotations. In the margins, there are cries such as 'sheer nonsense', 'bah!' and 'nonsense and lies.' Just what it was all about then, and why she infiltrated a customer service department in her capacity as Assistant Department Intell, she does not explain.

The hearing takes place at the Court of Appeal on 25 February. *NOS News* does a live interview with me there on Radio 1.[263] Before entering the courtroom, the final question is: 'How do you see your chances?' I reply resolutely: 'I'm going to win.'

A three-man camera crew from *ThePostOnline* is present to film the entire session. They got special permission to do this. Only Monica is not allowed in the picture because she does not want to appear.

The camera is on. Judge Blok begins by saying that he and his two fellow judges have read the book.

Van Groenendaal begins with his plea.[264] In total, we have now submitted thirty exhibits: the evidence speaks for itself. It feels a bit like we have a 30-to-1 advantage in this legal battle. On the Srebrenica photographic film, my lawyer says:

> The statement about the photo roll can be found in Giltay's notes. As far as these notes are concerned, they can be considered as evidence. In any case, as a substantiated fulfilment of Giltay's burden of proof, in accordance with the rule in the case of the taxi driver versus daily *Het Parool*.[265] It is also important that the notes of the time correspond exactly with the contents of the book, rather than relying on memories of things from ten, fifteen years ago. This adds a great deal of credibility.

> I also refer to exhibit 29. Giltay requested the Minister of Defence to proceed with investigations. This also concerns the photo roll.

Earlier, Thunnissen admitted, surprisingly, that Monica's allegations about my behaviour have since been refuted. Again we hear something sensible from him. He distances himself from his plea agreement, distributed by him, on the issue of his client's security risk. According to the Ministry of Defence, which was recently contacted, this risk would be very low.[266]

Despite this, Thunnissen claims that his client had to take some security precautions and received help from the MoD.

What does the mother of the murdered Marianne Vaatstra have to do with this case? Because a controversial book had been published against the mother's wishes, the judge awarded her two hundred thousand euro to be paid by the authors. Thunnissen claims this case is similar. In concrete terms, I could expect to have to pay a very high amount of money because of the discussion about damages.

So I have to work for Monica for the rest of my life? The picture Thunnissen paints is tragicomic. It comes to mind that with this comment he loses credibility with the judges.

Off-duty Navy Captain Van Straten, the disrupter, is back again, though this time he fails to make silly accusations about matters not mentioned in the book. From the public gallery, he claims that Monica had nothing to do with intelligence work at MID. Oh well, it doesn't matter what the off-duty boss says. The judges understand that he is not under oath and has not given a written statement. So his words do not add to the evidence in favour of his former employee Monica.

'I am being portrayed as a spy. I am no Mata Hari.' There is a hint of indignation in Monica's words – they are on film.[267] She also lets slip: 'There are no spies working in the MID.'

Whatever job title you want to use for an intelligence officer approaching potential candidates for her secret service, you can validly style such a person a spy. As for the comment that there are no

spies working in the MID, that seems to me to be pure nonsense. If that is the case, shouldn't our country just surrender?

As she says 'no' over and over again, Monica continues to shake her head vehemently. When the judges ask her for the correct spelling of her surname, she tells them the story of having it officially changed. But this does not explain why she spelled her family name three different ways – as if it were the most natural thing in the world for me to identify myself alternately in official documents as Giltaij, Giltai and Giltay.

Had Monica's story been true, she could easily have proved it by producing her deed poll. However, she fails to do that. Still she is not backing down from her original accusation: I misspelled her name in a book where everything is made up and lied about.

Following the hearing, *ThePostOnline* filmmaker René van Praag interviews Thunnissen and others. If his client did not want to be in the spotlight, why did she demand rectifications in national newspapers? Thunnissen gives a remarkably honest answer. On camera, he distances himself from DAS, which was unwise enough to include this demand in the summons. It was only later that he became involved in the case.

He also states that he will not pursue any further legal action. As far as he is concerned, the court now has the final say.

Van Straten is also interviewed by *ThePostOnline*. The former Head of Intelligence at the MID – who had just blurted out in the courtroom that Monica had nothing to do with intelligence work – now suddenly says that she moved around the MID with dossiers, some of them from spies, and turned them into intelligence for the Armed Forces.[268]

When Van Praag confronts my lawyer with this, he replies: 'Is that so? Well, she has denied that strongly in the case.' With an astonished smile on his face, he adds to the camera: 'That should have been said a little bit earlier.'[269]

I am surprised that former secret service agents have come up with so much nonsense in this case. A colleague of my lawyer's, who came along, informs me that this is thus a unique case: he had

never attended a hearing where one party made so many claims with so little evidence.

Van Groenendaal is hopeful: 'There is almost no other way for this book simply to reappear.'[270]

CHAPTER 19

Appeal judgement

'Hello Edwin, congratulations,' Van Groenendaal writes in a short e-mail on 12 April 2016.[271] The judgement of the Court of Appeal, signed by the three judges, is attached.[272] The weighing of interests, conclusion and decision are as follows:

Weighing of interests

4.4. A balancing of Giltay's freedom of expression against [Monica's] right to respect for her private life leads to the conclusion that the claimed injunction should be denied for the following reasons:

4.5 On the one hand, upholding the claimed injunction would result in a serious restriction of freedom of expression. This is because at least part of the book deals with issues that could be the subject of a debate of social importance. In his book, for example, Giltay states, among other things:

i) that the Ministry of Defence routinely rejects individuals applying to join the Marine Corps on the grounds of homosexuality;

ii) that the roll of photographs taken by a Dutchbat soldier in Srebrenica was not accidentally destroyed but deliberately withheld by the MID and is still in the archives of the MID;

iii) that [Monica] was observed for speaking critically within the MID about the withholding of the photo roll and was subsequently dismissed from her job.

Restricting Giltay's freedom to raise these issues and express his views on them would strike at the heart of fundamental freedom of speech.

4.6 On the other hand, [Monica's] interest in the injunction being granted is limited. Firstly, Giltay has argued, without being contradicted, that there can be no further distribution of the first edition of the book because it has already been fully distributed and all references to [Monica's] name in statements about the book on Giltay's website have already been removed. To that extent, therefore, the claimed injunction cannot have any effect. Secondly, Giltay undertook not to use [Monica's] name in any new print runs of the book, including translations, or in any statements about the book (Giltay's exhibit 8, and again promised to the court during the plea). It has not been argued or shown that there is a real risk that Giltay will not honour this undertaking. [Monica] has only argued that the undertaking is inadequate because readers of a reprint will be able to find out her name from copies of the first edition distributed and from publications about the book. That possibility does exist, but it is unlikely that a significant number of readers of the reprint or of any new statements by Giltay about the book will choose to make use of it. [Monica] has also failed to make clear why readers of the reprint would look for ways to identify her with any of the characters in the book.

4.7 Moreover, the book's criticism of the aforementioned social injustices is not directed at [Monica], but at the Dutch State and a former general. Nor does [Monica] argue that the book suggests that she can be blamed for them. The crux of her objections to the book is that it portrays her, in her own words, as a 'babbling' spy or a 'chatty person who comes clean about her work at the MID'. It is a description that is negative, but not one so damaging that it should be banned even in anonymised form.

4.8 Furthermore, given the weighty importance of freedom of expression, Giltay must be granted a wide degree of freedom in choosing the form in which he exposes the social injustices he has identified. Giltay was therefore free to choose what he calls an 'autobiographical form', one in which the discourse on these injustices is underpinned by his own experiences. This form means that (the author's perception of) the behaviour and expressions of people who are not public figures but who play a role in the story, such as [Monica], are also described in detail. Therefore, the invocation of freedom of expression applies not only to the parts of the book that deal with the role of the Dutch State and a former general, but also to the parts that describe the behaviour and utterances of non-public figures, especially when these people are referred to by fictitious names, as Giltay has promised to do with [Monica].

4.9 [Monica's] objection that the book contains various inaccuracies about her cannot lead to a different judgement. The only inaccuracies which the parties do not dispute relate to her age (34 instead of 40) and the spelling of her name ... As such, these limited shortcomings are not serious enough to establish an infringement of [Monica's] rights that would justify a ban on the publication of Giltay's book. Contrary to the preliminary ruling of the District Court, the Court of Appeal finds that these inaccuracies are not sufficient to call into question the accuracy with which Giltay wrote the book. As regards the spelling of the name, this is underlined by Giltay's statement that he took this spelling from a memorandum prepared by the MID as part of the Ombudsman's investigation (Giltay's exhibit 14) and by the fact that [Monica] herself failed to spell her name correctly in a letter she sent as part of the same investigation (Giltay's exhibit 22).

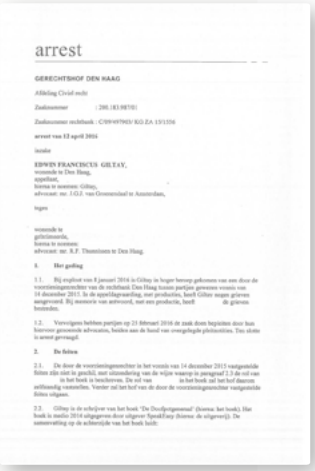
4.10 As for the other parts of [Monica's] description, the extent to which they are accurate cannot be determined in the

context of these preliminary proceedings, partly because the description consists largely of a reproduction of verbal conversations between Giltay and [Monica]. However, it is established that [Monica's] role in the book is not, contrary to what she claims, 'purely fabricated' or 'entirely fictional'. It is thus established between the parties:

i. that during the relevant period [Monica] and Giltay both worked at Casema during the evening hours;
ii. that during this period [Monica] was also an employee of the MID;
iii. that while working at Casema, [Monica] and Giltay discussed Giltay's application to the Marine Corps and that [Monica] advised Giltay to apply to the MID.

This is not to be taken to mean that the entire description of [Monica] in the book is accurate, but it does indicate that the description is at least partially supported by the facts.

4.11 Nor can a different decision be reached because Giltay did not ask [Monica] for a rebuttal before publishing the book. It is not disputed that the right to a rebuttal is not absolute and that the distribution of a book is not unlawful simply because not all the people featured in the book have been asked for a rebuttal. While the absence of a rebuttal is a relevant circumstance, it does not weigh heavily in [Monica's] favour in this case for the additional reason that Giltay's criticism of social injustices in the book is not directed against [Monica], but against the State and a former general.


arrest

GERECHTSHOF DEN HAAG

The appeal judgement

4.12 Nor can [Monica's] argument that she runs a security risk if a (former) soldier with a Srebrenica past and post-traumatic disorder might be offended by [Monica's] careless talk in the book about the photo roll. To the extent that (ex-)soldiers with a Srebrenica past might be angered by this alleged indiscretion, it is not plausible at this stage that it poses a real security risk to [Monica], additionally in light of the fact that no security incidents have been alleged or proven to have occurred in connection with the publication of the first edition of the book or its promotion. Nor has [Monica] provided any concrete evidence of a threat or otherwise substantiated the alleged security risk, while Giltay expressly denied the risk by providing a message on the subject from the president of the Dutchbat 3 association (Giltay's exhibit 1).

Conclusion

4.13 In light of the foregoing, it must be concluded that the objections to the imposition of the (penalty) injunction are well-founded. Accordingly, there is no need for a separate discussion of the objections.

4.14 As [Monica] is the losing party, she is ordered to pay the expenses of the proceedings at first instance and on appeal.

5. The decision

The Court of Appeal:

5.1 nullifies the preliminary ruling made by the District Court of The Hague on 14 December 2015 in so far as it granted the injunction and penalty payment and ordered Giltay to pay the costs of the proceedings;
and therefore in reassessment:

5.1.1 dismisses the claimed injunction;

5.1.2 orders [Monica] to pay the costs of the proceedings at first instance, assessed by Giltay at €78 in court registry fees and €816 in lawyers' fees.

5.2 otherwise upholds the judgement;

5.3 orders [Monica] to pay the costs of the appeal, estimated to date at €314 for court registry fees, €94.08 for bailiff's fees and €2,682 (3 points × €894) for Giltay's lawyers' fees;

5.4 declares the orders for costs of proceedings provisionally enforceable.

This judgement was delivered by the Judges P.H. Blok, G. Dulek-Schermers and H.J.M. Burg, at the public hearing on 12 April 2016, in the presence of the Registrar.

CHAPTER 20

Press freedom

The Court of Appeal of The Hague publishes the judgement on its website with an accompanying press release.[273] Immediately, *nu.nl* and *Villamedia* write about it.[274, 275]

That same day I visit Van Groenendaal at his new law firm, Van Kaam, in Amsterdam. We are very relieved. He says it is extraordinary that the Court of Appeal has distanced itself so much from the decision of the District Court. We really won on *every* point.

The victory feels like liberation. The attack intended to marginalise me as a socially subversive citizen has been defeated. According to my lawyer, the judgement can be claimed as a victory over the MoD, not just a victory over a former MoD employee. After all, Monica was supported in her legal battle by a senior military officer. Moreover, Thunnissen claimed in the courtroom that his client had been helped by the MoD.

Van Groenendaal observes: 'The banning of an entire book never really happens. It's still a mystery why the District Court banned it. Apparently, *The Cover-up General* was regarded by some as too explosive in nature.' *Dnevni avaz* promptly writes about it.[276]

A confidant comments: the State apparently agreed with the District Court of The Hague to ban your book. But the three judges of the Court of Appeal were not intimidated; they overturned the District Court's decision in your favour.

Reactions are pouring in. MP Harry van Bommel e-mails: 'Great news!'[277] Former Minister Jan Pronk writes: 'Justice has been done',[278] while Bert Bakker, ex-chairman of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on Srebrenica, responds: 'Fantastic! Congratulations Edwin!'[279]

The victory for press freedom is, of course, also a victory for journalism. Congratulations arrive by e-mail from Hans Laroes, Philip Dröge, Brenno de Winter, Silvan Schoonhoven, Jan Born, Joris Luyendijk, Kenneth van Zijl and Frénk van der Linden. All this support is by no means trivial, because it protects me. I have not forgotten the disruption measures of the past.

New publishers come forward, eager to publish a second edition. I choose Blue Tiger Media, a publisher with an eye for social issues.[280] I sign up for a five-year contract, ending in 2021.[281]

Publisher Tom Zwitser asks me to describe the legal battle to update the second edition and also to anonymise Monica's name in it. However, my editor warns me: are you spelling her fictional name correctly? Isn't her name 'Monique' instead of 'Monica'? All the fuss about the book being banned because of a single misspelled letter is now being vented in jokes.

Monica's downfall culminates in an order to pay €4,115.08 in legal costs. The failure of former MoD officials in this case is undeniable. But Monica's role in the whole affair should not be seen as so great. No, the loss of face falls mainly on retired General Van Baal, who supported her criticism and has remained silent since the judgement.

The State is also shrouded in silence. Marco Gerritsen notes that – as far as he can remember – the State Attorney did not say a word about his reference to *The Cover-up General* in his case for the Mothers of Srebrenica.[282]

Minister Hennis is silent as well. After my victory, she still refuses to distance herself from accusations that were refuted in court months ago. It is as if the Ministry is not responding out of ineptitude: back in 1998 they already declared that my character was too strong to break. On this last point, it turns out that the Armed Forces were right after all – at least a Commander-in-Chief has failed in his attempt.

Looking back, I remember what it was all about for me: I wanted to serve my country and prove my manhood. Whatever the consequences, I wanted to commit myself to the Armed Forces' mission of defending our freedom and democracy. I now realise

that, as a citizen, I am fulfilling this task with a victory for freedom of the press and freedom of expression. With a bit of bravado, you could even say it is a victory over the Netherlands Armed Forces: the ultimate proof of my manhood.

Promoting the international rule of law is another important task for the Ministry of Defence. For this too, I have committed myself. Conflict analyst Caspar ten Dam puts it this way:[283]

> Edwin's book deals, among other things, with the famous photo roll showing war crimes in Srebrenica, that 'accidentally failed to develop' in a Dutch military intelligence laboratory, and with statements Giltay heard that the photo roll was not destroyed at all, but is secretly kept somewhere. For this reason alone, his book is of national and international importance. And the consequences of his account urgently require further independent investigation, and if necessary legal action against those behind the cover-up.

Of course, self-preservation was also a motive for drawing attention to this cover-up. The backlash in my personal and professional life has not always left me unaffected. The judgement is a beginning of reparation in this respect.

The AIVD, which had previously refused to comment on the escort project of its predecessor, the BVD, passes on the verdict internally by issuing a brief memorandum: 'Previous judgement reversed. ... The book The Cover-up General may be sold after all. This is also reported by various media.'[284]

That's right. Over the years, hundreds of articles about the book and the triumph for press freedom appear around the world – from Brazil to Indonesia.[285] In addition, the book is being included in the collections of, among others, the Banned Books Museum in Estonia,[286] the Srebrenica Memorial Centre in Bosnia,[287] the Royal Military Academy in Breda and the Peace Palace in The Hague.[288]

With the publication and distribution of *The Cover-up General*, the Dutch State is confronted again and again with the inconvenient reality that disruption measures can backfire. Even decades

later, such measures continue to cause consternation and criticism at home and abroad. I hope that this mirror held up to the intelligence services will have a cleansing effect and give officials food for thought. If, in future, even one official decides to spare an innocent citizen instead of silencing him, that will be a win.

Part Three

2016 – 2022

'Fearful leaders side-step issues instead of dealing with them, cover up mistakes instead of owning up to mistakes; they skulk back into the shadows and hope that the crisis, whatever it is, will somehow blow over instead of facing their fears. Worse, they resort to lies and deception to cover up the truth.'

— Leon F. Ellis

CHAPTER 21

Parliament

On 16 September 2016, Blue Tiger publishes the second edition of *The Cover-up General*. The new edition – with eight additional chapters – is presented at the Amsterdam bookstore Scheltema and covered by a local TV station.[289, 290] Several prominent legal experts are present, including Jurian van Groenendaal, his confrère Simon van der Sluijs and Roger Vleugels, who specialises in advocating for transparency in government.

During his short speech, the latter draws laughter when he says: 'Holland is a kind of wholesale dealer of cover-ups. I recognize this story fully.'[291] The second speaker, Jehanne van Woerkom, who has written books about Bosnian suffering in the war,[292] agrees: 'It is about the "messed up" photo rolls from Srebrenica. So, as usual, the MID is getting cramped because Edwin jotted down a couple of things. So he's targeted.'[293]

Now that censorship has been curtailed, investigative journalist Philip Dröge is publicly urging me to fight bravely to get to the bottom of things. I also hear this wish from many others and it makes me think.

I had previously indicated that I would no longer ask for rehabilitation. I find my life exciting and meaningful – the assessment of a ministry that piles mistake upon mistake is irrelevant to me. However, there are matters of greater importance in this dossier that cry out for attention. It is important that our country admits its mistakes regarding the photographic roll and the stonewalling of unwanted witnesses. In a case with an international dimension, the State of the Netherlands must restore the public trust that has been violated.

In an interview about the government's harassment, I am faced

with the question: What do you hope to achieve with your book? My reply:[294]

> I would greatly appreciate it, should the Casema affair be investigated after all. Intelligence personnel have been responsible for illegal infiltration, intimidation, intrusion and theft. And I'd like to see the dubious role General Van Baal played be unravelled. An appropriate task for Minister Hennis of Defence.
>
> Even more important: this shady affair related to Srebrenica must be uncovered: after all – we are talking about genocide. The government intimidation that I personally encountered, although scandalous, is insignificant by comparison. If the military tries anything to put me off again, well, all efforts to shut me up have proven unsuccessful. I'll take them on any day.

A modest attitude on the part of the author or the publisher is not appropriate here. Tom Zwitser tells the media that the publication is intended to stimulate public debate: 'I have always had my doubts about this affair: chances are that the photo roll is still in an archive somewhere. Maybe people in the Ministry will come out with new information.'[295]

There is no sign of this yet, although there seems to be a lot of interest in this matter. When a former Dutchbat soldier, now a senior security advisor at the MoD,[296] shares the PDF of this book on a private forum in late 2016, about a hundred Dutchbat 3 veterans download it within a day.[297]

After being tipped off about the piracy, I send the veteran a message on Messenger admonishing him to delete the e-book. Shortly afterwards, there is an implied admission of guilt. He reports tersely to me: 'It's gone.'[298]

There is no apology. Despite the Dutch copyright notice explicitly forbidding illegal distribution, the senior adviser writes: 'I thought it was allowed.' Moreover, he argues, as if he was not to blame, that *The Cover-up General* was much discussed after the book was banned and was already being shared digitally.[299]

The widespread distribution among (former) military personnel

may have been justifiable due to the significance of opposing misguided censorship. However, that situation has changed with the appeal judgement and the republication by Zwitser, who is now disadvantaged.[300]

Tips of wider significance also follow: Two former employees of *Post- en Archiefzaken* ('Post and Archives Department') of the Royal Netherlands Army complain to friends that the Srebrenica photographic film was deliberately destroyed in their department. The testimony of one of the former employees: the former Head of the Department, Jan van de Bosch, was ordered by the Inspector General of the Armed Forces (IGK) to destroy the photo roll because it would have embarrassed the Army. Despite his conscientiousness, his boss put the evidence of war crimes in hydrochloric acid.

This version of history ties in with research into the unusable roll. After the current affairs television programme *Nova* obtained the roll, they had it examined by the broadcaster company Nederlands Omroepproductie Bedrijf and photographic experts in Munich.[301] Both the Dutch and the Germans concluded that Rutten's photo roll had been so thoroughly destroyed that it could only have been deliberate.[302]

However, Van de Bosch died years ago, and his former associates keep a low profile. None of them want to confirm their testimony to me as a journalist.

Evidence – that's what it's all about. To my surprise, one day I am given access to several sensitive documents relating to the affair. As I have promised confidentiality to the supplier, partly for her safety, I cannot use the documents in this case. Still, it feels good to be faced with papers that support some of the statements Lucas made at the time and shed more light on the indirect connection between this affair and the IRT affair.

My pursuit of the truth is highlighted, among other things, in a five-star review by *Hebban*. Under the headline 'Secret services and army brass on the rack', the editors note:[303]

> Author Edwin Giltay describes in detail how our intelligence services are flawed, covered up by the Ministry of Defence, the

> National Ombudsman and compromised ministers down the line. They, like the reader, will have rolled their eyes in disbelief. Not being provided with accurate information does not absolve them of their duty to conduct a serious search for the truth. It is unfair to say that they were 'set up'.

Their truth-telling is off to a slow start. But it is worth noting that in his memoirs, former Defence Minister Frank de Grave is scathing about Dirk Barth, the Permanent Secretary who sent out the statement on his behalf that I am 'completely insane'. In *Grote jongen zijn* ('Being a big boy'), he discusses his dilemma at the time about firing Barth. He also expresses doubts in retrospect about the wisdom of his decision not to do so.[304]

I write to De Grave again. In view of his expertise as a mediator, I am curious to know whether he sees a way out of this affair.[305] But he remains silent.

In the autumn of 2018, Remko de Bruijne asks me to accompany him to an interview about the injuries he sustained in Srebrenica.[306] The IGK, Hans van Griensven, welcomes us in the Prince Bernhard Room of his North Holland estate.[307] As his predecessor Van Baal did nothing with my letters, I, encouraged by De Bruijne, hand him a copy of *The Cover-up General* on the spot.[308]

This dossier is an excellent opportunity for Van Griensven to live up to his position as an independent advisor by conducting further research. Critics, like Job ter Steege, roar: 'Only now does the reader get a perplexing impression of the drivel with which high-ranking officials, with General Ad van Baal leading the way … tried to cover up their failures.'[309] Media like *Al Jazeera* question: 'Why did they undertake such complex cover-up operations?'[310] However, no reply is forthcoming. The IGK does not answer.

A second book with Van Baal in the lead? A friend hands it to me in the summer of 2020 in the bookshop where he works. Colonel Brantz wrote *Srebrenica: De Schuldigen* ('Srebrenica: The Guilty'),[311] a memoir that reads like a *J'accuse*. Twenty-five confrontations with his former superior – allegedly out for 'his blood' – are revealed.[312]

Brantz' black book

One of these concerns Rutten's photographic film. Commenting on the official story of the development failure, Brantz told *Nova* in August 1995: 'A self-respecting organisation like the Royal Netherlands Army cannot afford to treat this material in such a casual manner.' Van Baal, the Deputy Commander-in-Chief at the time, reacted furiously to – mind you – the criticism.[313]

In his black book, Brantz dares to give painful answers to the question of guilt over Srebrenica. For that reason alone, it deserves more attention. In addition, it is moving to read how *he* experienced being wire-tapped, observed, falsely suspected, thwarted in his career, as well as silenced.[314]

Would the National Ombudsman, Reinier van Zutphen, like to come clean on this dossier? Early 2017, I bring him the second edition and the appeal judgement and ask him in writing to withdraw his 1999 report.[315] He refuses. Although the Court of Appeal of The Hague made mincemeat of Monica's accusations, ruling that there was no reason to doubt the accuracy with which this book was written, he decided to uphold in full the public report containing her denunciation of me.[316]

The new facts in the letter will not lead to a different judgement: with this statement, Van Zutphen justifies his refusal.[317] Excuse me, did he even read the judgement? Is it not in *his* interest that his organisation stops spreading misinformation? Be honest: 'This affair is about trust in a fair, reliable and credible government. And more broadly, it is about the truth about Srebrenica.'[318]

I write the above in a follow-up letter in which I list nine grievances and ask for a substantive response to each. I also kindly ask him 'to rectify the error appropriately, to withdraw the controversial report and to communicate this to the outside world, stating the reasons. Now that it turns out that your institute has been

fooled by the Minister of Defence with false information for years, I also request that you summon the minister once more to provide full and proper clarification on this cover-up.'[319]

The words seem to fall on deaf ears. The National Ombudsman has no appetite for responding to each grievance and persists in denying the facts: 'Any further letters on the same subject will be received for information purposes only.' Signed: Reinier van Zutphen.[320]

His website boasts that, building on his 'internationally recognised role', he holds a position on the European Board of the International Ombudsman Institute.[321] This professional association, based in Vienna, requires all member ombudsmen around the world to abide by its statutes. According to these, every citizen should be protected against any injustice caused by a public authority.[322] In plain language: if a Minister of Defence spreads false accusations to discredit a witness to military crimes, the principal duty is thus to protect that person.

Why does Van Zutphen not do this? Why, with his report, does he provide the Minister with a platform for a disruption measure? And why does he continue to spread the disinformation when the deceit has been proven beyond doubt and the Court of Appeal has vindicated the aggrieved citizen on all counts?

In response to my calls, Van Zutphen could have withdrawn his predecessor's report without any PR damage. In doing so, he would have shown that he takes his duties seriously and is willing to correct mistakes. As the controller of power, he could even have cultivated goodwill for his office by rebuking the MoD. But by disregarding the appeal judgement, he is manoeuvring himself into a precarious position. By leaving the document on his website,[323] the supervisor presents himself as the State's puppet.

In a five-star review, the military website *Boekje Pienter* says that 'the book is about cover-ups that had to be kept secret at all costs'.[324] By persisting in propagating falsehoods, the National Ombudsman is keeping the lid on them. This is bewildering. Others question whether this behaviour can be explained by a lack of insight, stubbornness or low ambition, or whether there is more to it.

Ben Paulides, journalist of the No Cover-up Foundation, asks him a series of questions to clarify the situation.[325] All are equally legitimate. However, Van Zutphen brushes them aside: 'I am not going to answer your questions and I see no reason to engage with you on this matter.'[326] This is not the first time he has refused to speak to the media. The same thing happened to the daily *NRC Handelsblad*. It described his refusal as 'arrogant' and 'blandly formal'.[327]

And what about Defence Minister Hennis? Does she at last express regret, take legal action against those responsible for this cover-up, and provide clarification to the families of the murdered Bosniaks?

Absolutely not. On 6 June 2017, the Head of Administrative, Criminal and Disciplinary Law, J.J. Buirma, writes on behalf of the Minister that the case is already closed. He is not only referring here to the investigation of the National Ombudsman. My complaint against the MIVD would also have been declared unfounded by the oversight committee CTIVD.[328]

However, Hennis wrote to me in 2015 that she refused to have the MIVD complaint investigated by the CTIVD.[329] For clarification, I turn to Prime Minister Mark Rutte.[330] After his forwarding, MIVD Director General Onno Eichelsheim replies: 'The CTIVD has not processed any complaint on your behalf against the MIVD. For this reason, there is no report from the CTIVD.'[331] Clear enough. So not only is Hennis hiding behind an ombudsman investigation based on false information from the MoD, she is also hiding behind a CTIVD investigation that officially does not exist.

After I lodge an objection with the Minister,[332] the reference to the ghost report quietly disappears. However, no fault is admitted. Hennis continues to ignore the facts, refuses to respond to my arguments, and concludes her letter by saying that unfortunately the Ministry cannot be of any further assistance to me on this matter.[333]

It is time for Parliament to demand clarity. I write to the MPs that I have been sidelined with 'disruption measures', enclosing copies of *The Cover-up General* and urging them to raise the affair.[334, 335] The response to this is overwhelmingly positive. At the behest of

the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Khadija Arib, my letter is placed on the agenda of the Defence Committee of the House of Representatives.[336] Subject: 'Request for Clarification on Srebrenica Cover-up'.[337] Date: 14 September 2017.

Meanwhile, on 27 June, I visit the Court of Appeal in The Hague to hear the verdict in the appeal case brought by the Mothers of Srebrenica against the Dutch State. In the Palace of Justice, I recognise the presiding judge. Gepke Dulek-Schermers, one of the judges in my appeal case, has read *The Cover-up General* — so she learnt about the photos of executed Bosniaks taken two days after the fall. She now announces as part of her conclusion: 'Dutchbat knew on 13 July 1995 that the [Bosniak] men … ran a real risk of exposure to inhumane treatment or being executed'.[338]

In front of some thirty widows and the world press, Dulek then writes history by ruling that the Dutch State is partly responsible for the deaths of 300 Bosniaks deported from Srebrenica. Bam! I see this as a victory of the lawyers Gerritsen and Van der Sluijs for the Mothers. The Court of Appeal has now set the record straight: the Netherlands is partly responsible for the genocide. And equally important, countries can no longer hide behind the UN flag.[339]

A week later, I fly to Bosnia on a trip sponsored by the Dutch Foundation for the History of Totalitarian Regimes and their Victims.[340] Accompanied by Dutch-Bosnian journalist Naida Ribić and Bosnian war film producer Omer Edo Hadrović, we travel to Srebrenica for the annual commemoration.[341] 'I would like to pay my deepest respects to the victims,' *Dnevni avaz* quotes me as saying about my purpose.[342]

At the memorial one woman wears a T-shirt that depicts her deceased husband. She tells Naida in Bosnian that both her husband and son were murdered. She doesn't have a single photo of her beloved son. The woman bursts into tears and Naida comforts her with a hug. This sad story is just one of so many we hear. More than 20,000 mourners are gathered here today.[343]

Following, we are invited to the office of the Mothers of Srebrenica. The next morning, we also receive a visit in our hotel by

Ćamil Duraković, the former mayor of Srebrenica and organiser of the commemoration. He tells me he wants to read my book in English.[344]

When I walk into Parliament in The Hague two months later, I am accompanied by several journalists, including reporter Esther Monsma from the TV news programme *Hart van Nederland* (*HvN*) and her cameraman. They interview MP Sadet Karabulut and me. Furthermore, they film the committee meeting, which is unique.[345]

During deliberations, the House of Representatives decides unanimously that Hennis should answer the letter.[346] Great!

The committee's meeting (©SBS6)

Karabulut states that the Minister of Defence is obliged to give this man a real answer.[347] A quarter of a million viewers watch the news item.[348] In Bosnia, *Dnevni avaz* headlines about the parliamentary decision: 'The Netherlands owes it to the victims of Srebrenica'.[349]

However, no clarification is offered to the media. As part of the adversarial process, the Ministry is claiming on *Hart van Nederland* that my allegations are false. In an article accompanying the TV programme, it uses a particularly contrived justification for this:[350]

> 'Mr Giltay was declared mentally unfit at a time when he wanted to become an aspiring officer in the Royal Navy,' the MoD argues in response to declaring Edwin insane. 'The National

> Ombudsman investigated Mr Giltay's rejection by the Marine Corps in 1999. The MoD was fully vindicated in this regard. So there is no question of false psychiatrisation as a witness.'

Not only does the MoD insist on being in the right here, flaunting an investigation based on lies. In its response, the MoD is also trying to link the psychological assessment to the declaration of insanity, where there is none. In effect, the Armed Forces are publicly portraying this author as untrustworthy – even though the Court of Appeal had ruled in my favour, as *Hart van Nederland* reports on television.

Apart from yours truly, however, the Ministry implicitly dismisses other editors as incompetent as well. I write to Esther Monsma: 'It is like being an MP and asking: "Did the Minister drive her official car privately?" – and getting the answer: "The Deputy Minister did not declare receipts." The MoD's comments now give the impression that you have made an article about a non-issue.'[351]

Monsma agrees and concurs that the MoD is evading the real issue.[352] Next, her web editors add the following to the article:[353]

> According to Edwin, an investigation was indeed carried out, 'albeit carelessly'. But it did not involve the false psychiatrisation: 'Whatever was examined when I wanted to become an officer has nothing to do with the later declaration of insanity,' says Edwin. But the Ministry is trying to put a nice spin on it.

The Minister of Defence also fails to explain the affair to Parliament. Hennis misses the deadline to answer the House of Representatives and resigns after continued heavy criticism of her performance. After a fatal mortar accident in Mali, she had, as she puts it, 'reacted in a strange way'.[354]

Earlier, the Minister found herself in the cross-hairs of another false psychiatrisation. F-16 pilot Victor van Wulfen had raised safety concerns to the dissatisfaction of his superiors, after which he was reportedly told during a medical consultation that he is 'living in a make-believe world'.[355] But on that particular day he was

in South Africa. He also showed me the stamps in his passport to prove it.[356]

Interim Defence Minister Klaas Dijkhoff sends the delayed parliamentary letter to Speaker of the House of Representatives Arib on 13 October. The letter makes no mention of the intrigues at Casema, in violation of the constitutional obligation to provide adequate information to Parliament. General Van Baal and his wife are not even mentioned.[357]

In order for our rule of law to function properly, there are important questions that need to be answered, such as: was it legitimate to take disruption measures? Has there been covert pressure on the Judiciary to censor this book? Did Intelligence set up honey traps without informing Parliament? However, these answers are not forthcoming.[358]

Only the Srebrenica photo roll is mentioned. The Minister spins a tale of a 'particularly embarrassing and unfortunate' developmental error, without responding to investigations that conclude it was deliberately destroyed.[359]

Dijkhoff goes on to praise the book's 'easy-to-read style', but nevertheless reports problems with reading it when it comes to the declaration of insanity:[360] 'What the author means by this is not clear. In any case, he never worked for the MoD. The Ministry therefore has no medical records.'

The statement claiming I was 'completely insane' is recorded in an official MID report, approved – indeed – by his predecessor De Grave.[361] This is a disruption measure of the MoD's own making, and yet Dijkhoff says he does not understand it. Is it incompetence? Or is he misleading the House of Representatives, which is a cardinal political sin?

'Dutch Defence Ministry keeps bumbling' is the headline of an article in the geopolitical magazine *Novini* on the continuing shortcomings. The lead reads: 'Not many ministries in the Netherlands can boast as many blunders as the Ministry of Defence. The department is under a, seemingly, never-ending siege. Even setting things right seems constantly to fail.' Dijkhoff's successor Ank Bijleveld appears in the article:[362]

> When asked, Minister Bijleveld declares: 'In the book fact and fiction are indeed intertwined.' Nevertheless: The Court of Appeal in The Hague overturned the book ban, resolutely. It ruled its accuracy is not in doubt. 'I do not have any views on that,' says Bijleveld.
>
> In the past, Mr Giltay has been branded as 'completely loopy' in an official report made public by the MoD. The incumbent Minister denies endorsing the report: 'The MoD has never spoken about Mr Giltay in this fashion.' The document, however, has never been revoked and is still publicly available.

Bijleveld's statements, which she does not substantiate, show once again that her Ministry is distorting the facts in this dossier. After two decades of untruths and excuses, this seems to be the policy they are persisting with. *Novini* concludes the article as follows:[363]

> Having been discredited by the Ministry is one thing – Giltay thinks there are bigger fish to fry: The covering up of the truth about Srebrenica. 'The Ministry never quite developed a capacity for admitting mistakes. Unlike certain rolls of film.' De Bruijne adds: 'They prefer to keep everything under wraps, lest damages claims would ensue. Neither justice nor truth is relevant to them.'

Funnily enough, shortly afterwards Bijleveld does publicly correct something for me, namely a triviality. Thereby, she praises my thoughtfulness in front of a foreign Minister of Defence.

What occurs? In a Twitter message to her Belgian counterpart Steven Vandeput, she misinterprets the abbreviation QRA, which stands for very high military readiness. I tweet her: 'Dear Minister, you are mistaken. The Benelux cooperation is not called 'Quick Response Alert' but 'Quick Reaction Alert'.[364] Like lightning, Bijleveld corrects herself: 'Absolutely right. Too quick Response [sic] from me. Updated in the meantime. Thank you for your alert reaction.'[365]

'Thank you for your honesty,' I tweet back happily. And while I have your attention, could you also immediately confirm that I

am absolutely right about a certain intelligence scandal?[366] But this time the Minister does not have a ready answer. Despite thousands of Twitter views in the Low Countries, there is no reaction or response from the Ministry which so appreciates alertness.[367]

Bijleveld's praise fails to arouse much excitement for this book in Brussels. Moscow, on the other hand, does show interest. Alexander Malkevich, as chairman of the media committee of the Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation, is an adviser to President Vladimir Putin.[368] We meet in March 2020 at two symposia in Holland on the downing of flight MH17.[369] The fact that *The Cover-up General* is still only available in Dutch does not deter the Kremlin adviser from purchasing it right away.

As the antics of the Dutch state become more widely known, The Hague continues to refuse to provide clarification. By letter, I inform Minister Bijleveld I have received various messages that the infamous Srebrenica photo roll has been destroyed in the Post and Archives Department of the Army.[370] On the basis of the Freedom of Information Act, I respectfully request she release all documents relating to this matter. A few weeks later, the minister replies to me that no documents have been found.[371]

Like her predecessor De Grave, Bijleveld seems to be misled by the Royal Army regarding the photos. Fact is that I have confidential e-mails on the matter, namely the testimony of a former employee of the department in question.

Hopefully, I am getting signals that the organisation wants to become more open. For example, a former senior spokesman for the Ministry of Defence visits me at home in late 2020. Although invited because of the artistic legacy of my now deceased uncle,[372] he begins to talk about this book and the photo roll. A journalist friend of mine is also present.

The former press secretary praises my work and calls the handling of the photo roll a 'mockery'. In his opinion, it would have been better if the photos had been published immediately – with the announcement that they could not be stopped. 'Many people in the Ministry of Defence want the truth to come out.'[373]

CHAPTER 22

Rebuttal

Her claim that this book is a mixture of fact and fiction, was not underpinned by Minister Bijleveld.[374] Like her predecessor, Minister Hennis, she had never called for an investigation by oversight committee CTIVD.

I write Bijleveld on 29 June 2020 in the context of rebuttal. 'To date, I have received no substantive response from your ministry regarding my internationally debated — and previously banned — non-fiction thriller.' If she still wishes to comment, I promise to include it in a new edition.[375] Her reply: 'The Ministry of Defence sees no reason to comment on the contents of the book.'[376]

A few months later, the National Coordinator for Security and Counter-Terrorism (NCTV), Pieter-Jaap Aalbersberg, issues the 53rd edition of his report *Dreigingsbeeld Terrorisme Nederland* ('Terrorism Threat Assessment Netherlands'). In this listing of terror threats, he warns that Blue Tiger acts as a 'conduit for anti-government propaganda, fake news and conspiracy theories.'[377]

Aalbersberg neglects to substantiate his intimidating accusations against the publisher. Yet they are quoted nationwide in the press.[378] The Blue Tiger ends up in a legal battle with NCTV over this,[379] with my support among others.[380] Parliamentary questions also follow about Aalbersberg's possible violation of the constitutional freedom of the printing press.[381]

And rightly so: the government's report is bizarre for a Western democracy. It is more appropriate for a fundamentalist country like Somaliland, where in 2018 an online newspaper published an article entitled 'How To Deal With Banned Books', listing seventeen titles that should be 'burned' and 'completely destroyed'. At the top

of this Islamic *index librorum prohibitorum* is *The Satanic Verses* by Salman Rushdie, with the Bible at number 12. For some mysterious reason, *The Cover-up General* also appears on the list, at number 16.[382]

As far as I know, not a single copy of my book in Dutch has been sold in the Horn of Africa, nevertheless, according to the article, the Ministry of Information, Justice and Religion in Hargeisa is responsible in Somaliland for burning the books listed, deleting all digital copies and banning reprints. The reason for throwing them on the pyre: 'harmful content', which, incidentally, was not specified in any detail whatsoever.[383]

I write to Aalbersberg about his alarming report on Blue Tiger: 'Good heavens, my book *The Cover-up General* has been published there! I never knew that my publisher, or I, pose a danger to the state.' From his point of view, does my book also fall into the category of anti-government propaganda, fake news or conspiracy theories? 'If so, please explain in more detail — including passages and page numbers.'[384]

No substantive explanation is forthcoming. After a written reminder,[385] however, I do receive a polite letter. The NCTV Director of Crisis Management answers me on behalf of Ferdinand Grapperhaus, the Minister of Justice and Security, under whose authority the NCTV falls.[386] While the accusations against Blue Tiger were first presented without any nuance, they are now being toned down considerably:

The 'classifications' would only be based on broadcasts, social media posts and other (also unspecified) material which Blue Tiger and its employees are responsible for putting out. They are 'in no way whatsoever based on the content of individual books published by the publisher, such as the one you refer to', says NCTV Crisis Management.[387]

In that case, all well and good: with this answer it is clear that *The Cover-up General* is beyond any of the suspicions reported, as is the case with all publications of Blue Tiger, whose core mission is to publish books that stimulate public debates.[388] I feel reassured that I have not been labelled as someone who spreads fake news by

Justice and Security. It is also a relief to read: 'The term "danger to the state" you suggested is not applicable' here.[389]

However, the fact that the published allegations against Blue Tiger do not relate to its authors, is not made public by the NCTV. Nor does it retract or amend its online report.[390] With the *Terrorism Threat Assessment Netherlands 53,* NCTV thus continues to raise serious doubts among the population about the credibility and reliability of the publisher's publications. Knowing full well that there is no basis for this, Aalbersberg's national counter-terrorism report deliberately spreads misleading information that chills freedom of expression.

That a socially critical publisher can be perceived as a threat by a government that is piling error upon error, is not difficult to grasp. But what is happening here is unacceptable:

If the state is bothered by issues surrounding a publishing house that have nothing at all to do with the books it publishes, it should not attack it in a way that discredits that very core mission. That is deceptive. It also falsely tarnishes the reputation of authors who have done nothing wrong. In short, there are many reasons why NCTV has no business, under the guise of fighting terrorism, acting as a conduit for government propaganda that, because of its lack of any nuance, qualifies as fake news.

No less remarkable is the fact that the NCTV letter reveals a curious contradiction: Minister of Justice and Security Grapperhaus does not classify *The Cover-up General* as fake news when I ask him about it,[391] while his counterpart, Minister of Defence Bijleveld, has previously denounced the book in the press as fake news.[392]

Who is right here: the Minister of Justice and Security, and therefore yours truly? Or the Minister of Defence, who has been refusing to provide clarification for decades?

And then there is also the Home Secretary, who called off an CTIVD inquiry into the affair after six weeks, and stated he would not comment on the book.[393, 394]

The contradictions within the government are striking. Ministers are constitutionally obliged to speak with one voice so that

government policy is consistent. The failure to do so confirms the perception that our government is at a loss as to how to deal with this affair.

This embarrassing blunder underlines how detrimental — not to mention grossly anti-democratic — it is for a government to judge what is fake news and what is not. The executive in my country would have done better to listen to the judiciary, which has independently ruled on *The Cover-up General* on the basis of evidence.[395]

Epilogue

Some time ago, I heard of a high-ranking officer preferring not to mention 'blue berets' anymore. I suppose he is not the only one in his line of work to be reluctant. This symbol of many a peacekeeping mission has too much of a 'Srebrenica' connection, the most painful chapter in recent European history. An open wound in Dutch society.

Dutchbat was not equipped with sufficient weaponry, looking on as thousands of Muslim men were separated and taken away – abandoned by UN Command. Their commanding officer was forced to have a drink with a victorious Ratko Mladić. He observed that he ought not be shot at: he was only the piano player. He had no part in all this, he was just the hired help. He was dressed in a uniform by accident, we should not expect any defiance from him.

This was more or less concurrent with the view we held at *NOS Journaal*, the public news service where I was employed back then. At the time, a group of journalists stranded on their way to Srebrenica were put up near enemy troops – at the behest of local military command. Their security detail: an officer who had only one gun and only 26 bullets.

We did not quite realise something was terribly wrong, in July 1995. From my perspective, at the *NOS* news desk, the first sign was the Serbs having overrun the enclave. Initially, it was difficult to obtain reliable information. From then on the question was whether Dutchbat would be able to return safely, or were they to be kept hostage?

This was the conundrum we focused on. We went live from where Dutchbat eventually arrived safely. The Prime Minister was there, as was the Crown Prince. Only then a different reality came into focus, which had been blurred before. If my memory serves

me well, it was Minister for Foreign Aid Jan Pronk who first spoke of genocide.

It was what it was: the mass murder of over 7,000 men and boys; on Dutchbat's watch, to a certain extent. Were our troops witness to it? Could they have prevented it? Should Lieutenant Colonel Karremans have drawn the line, even in the face of a superior enemy force – because his honour, his duty, his ethics demanded it?

Srebrenica was investigated. To take political responsibility in some measure, the second Kok cabinet resigned; despite having been relegated to a demissionary status already. Jan Pronk had resigned even before, in order to take a stand. Dealing with dark pages of its history is not one of Holland's strong suits. We are still struggling to confront Srebrenica.

And then there are the infamous pictures, taken in Srebrenica by several soldiers. The roll of film was confiscated, diligently. Handled diligently, naturally. Only to be inadequately developed, diligently – destroyed or covered-up, nothing to see here … The pictures would slightly overexpose the fact that Dutch forces had been actively involved in separating the men and women. The tragic ending we all know. How different the Srebrenica aftermath might have played out, had the military had smart-phones with today's technology. There would have been an abundance of footage.

My initial thought when I heard the roll of film had been destroyed while being developed was, this cannot be real. Nobody I talked to believed any of it. There was no journalist around who did not doubt the official line, with a hint of cynicism. And now the roll of film pops up again, in this very book. That is, the intrigue surrounding it. The cover-up operation even reaches the author's employer, innocent Telecom provider Casema. Edwin Giltay chronicles his experiences meticulously, supported by documentary evidence.

It is riveting. A disgruntled Military Intelligence Service (MID) operator blabbing about her workplace frustrations, as well as the circumstances surrounding the roll of film – time and again. All the while trying to recruit Edwin for military Intel. Another spy, tasked with keeping an eye on the MID operator, is a bungling first-timer

lacking all sense of finesse. She speaks lovingly about her husband, Ad. He turns out to be General Ad van Baal: Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Netherlands Army when Srebrenica fell. The book's eponymous cover-up general. A third spy is dispatched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Giltay develops close ties to the Domestic Security Service, and added to the mix is a whiff of paid sex and diplomatic blackmail from days past.

It all sounds so amateurish. Is this happening? It seems so undignified. Is this how things are done? Is this Kafka? Giltay is decidedly tenacious, as evidenced by dozens of documents and appeals The fact that he gets tangled up in the Ministry of Defence's machinations, and, in a broader sense, the government's, seems clear to me. He is sent packing. His main point: it is Van Baal, it is about the roll of film, Casema is where the Dutch intelligence services come to blows. The author himself is collateral damage.

I hope one day the entire truth about Srebrenica will surface. So far, much has been investigated – but we still do not know everything. And the roll of film … I am desperate to know about it. If and when, it would be quite a story should the authorities offer full disclosure on the Giltay affair as well. After all, by any neutral standards, no one deserves to be treated unfairly.

— Hans Laroes
Former editor-in-chief NOS News,
Leiden, The Netherlands, 2014

Recommendations

‘Mr Giltay wrote an impressive book about his experiences. I think the Defence Minister ought to provide a real answer.’[396]
— Sadet Karabulut, former Member of Parliament

‘Book bans belong in a different era. I read it and can recommend it to everyone.’[397]
— Harry van Bommel, former Member of Parliament

‘*The Cover-up General* makes clear the necessity of solid external scrutiny of intelligence and security services.’[398]
— Bram van Ojik, former Member of Parliament

‘This is an important book about an important affair in which the secret service withheld evidence of war crimes, at the expense of an arbitrarily chosen but surprisingly thoughtful civilian.’[399]
— Roel van Duijn, politician

‘Reality turns out more bizarre than the greatest conspiracy theory. *The Cover-up General* proves really anything is possible, also in the Netherlands – including threats.’[400]
— Willem Middelkoop, bestseller author

‘Why can’t the government just be open? It’s important that this riddle is also solved permanently.’[401]
— Brenno de Winter, writer and security expert

‘The Netherlands is a kind of wholesale dealer of cover-ups. I recognize this story fully.’[402]
— Roger Vleugels, freedom of information specialist

‘If this is all true, then the Netherlands is an even stranger country than I started to think in past years.’[403]
— Chris van der Heijden, historian

‘All this is real — starring Military Intelligence, running circles around Edwin and bungling everything.’[404]
— Jehanne van Woerkom, activist and author of *Bog Place: document Srebrenica*

‘Evokes the atmosphere of Graham Greene’s *Our Man in Havana*, yet situated in Delft in the offices of an internet provider …’[405]
— Christ Klep, military historian and author of *Somalia, Rwanda, Srebrenica*

‘That secret services infiltrate companies is not news: read Edwin Giltay’s *The Cover-up General*.’[406]
— Victor van Wulfen, former air force fighter pilot

‘*The Cover-up General* is a shocking eye-opener on how our secret services work’[407]
— Philip Dröge, investigative journalist

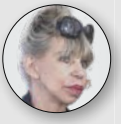
‘Highly recommended. A world has opened up for me! The book made me think: who is actually my cover-up general, or should I say cover-up secretary-general?’[408]
— Roelie Post, whistle-blower European Commission

‘Good to see this is being reported on.’[409]
— Arnold Karskens, war correspondent

Commenting on the court case: ‘Spies are used to bending reality. They manipulate the truth.’[410]
— Off-duty Colonel Charlef Brantz, former acting commander of sector North East Bosnia of UNPROFOR

‘I would like to see a Bosnian translation of *The Cover-up General*.’[411]
— Mirsada Čolaković, former Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Netherlands

‘Cases of whistle-blowers such as Victor van Wulfen, Fred Spijkers and Edwin Giltay have not been properly investigated. #cover-up’[412]
— Jan Born, investigative journalist



‘Read this exciting book! Then you’ll know for sure what’s going on and what could be happening.’[413]
— Metje Blaak, author and prostitution expert

‘I am reading the book anxiously. It’s like fiction, so bizarrely suspenseful and disturbing at the same time.’[414]
— Lenneke Sprik, lecturer-researcher international security at NHL Stenden University of Applied Sciences

‘I find Edwin’s book very readable and well worth reading: it brings forth very sensitive and interesting questions.’[415]
— Caspar ten Dam, conflict analyst and former organiser of the Srebrenica commemoration in The Hague

‘A sobering eye-opener of what the Ministry of Defence and the Dutch State are capable of.’[416]
— Jolies Heij, writer and Srebrenica activist

‘I bought the book and read it. It is really scandalous that the government is looking the other way. Not worthy of our country.’[417]
— Baron Rik van Slingelandt, former CEO of ABN AMRO Bank

‘I’d like to see the whole Srebrenica book be opened. The moment the government would also give disclosure of the Giltay story, that’d be a nice by-catch.’[418]
— Hans Laroes, former editor-in-chief Dutch TV news (NOS News)

‘Edwin Giltay’s *The Cover-up General* takes the reader from one surprise to the next. He reveals things that cannot bear the light of day.’[419]
— Gerard Scharn, writer

[About the Armed Forces’ cover-up:] ‘They prefer to keep everything under wraps, lest damages claims will ensue. Neither justice nor truth is relevant to them.’[420]
— Remko de Bruijne, Dutchbat III veteran

‘Fiat iustitia, pereat mundus’ (Latin maxim: ‘Let justice be done, though the world perish’)[421]
— Dzevad Kurić, Bosnian journalist

NIEUWE R

★★★★
‘Good observation of a sad struggle within army command.’[422]
— *Nieuwe Revu*, opinion weekly

Boekje Pienter

★★★★★
‘It‘s almost stifling to read how intelligence services crowd around to make the life of innocent civilians miserable.’[423]
— *Boekje Pienter*, army website

LD

‘Giltay calls all involved by name. He gives dates, locations, and his narrative never runs amok.’[424]
— *Leidsch Dagblad*, Dutch daily

Commenting on the gag order: 'Criminal political systems can only survive if their true nature is concealed. The more criminal the system, the greater and more important the secrets.'[425]
— Burgercomité-EU, citizens' committee

'Again, the suspicion is fed the State is responsible for letting disappear the infamous photo roll.'[426]
— Marco R. Gerritsen & Simon van der Sluijs, lawyers of the 'Mothers of Srebrenica'

'The book reads like a thrilling and very detailed *roman à clef* in which the true names are revealed.'[427]
— *Checkpoint*, veteran's monthly

'Cover-ups, censorship and the shadow of a genocide that might have been prevented. The ingredients of a thriller are all there, except that the author didn't have to invent anything.'[428]
— *+31 Mag*, Italian magazine

'In a down-to-earth writing style with attention to detail, Edwin Giltay describes the clumsy performance of two spies with poor manners, that he witnessed.'[429]
— *Haarlems Weekblad*, Dutch weekly

'*The Cover-up General* offers a revealing insight into a world where espionage, blackmail and the unauthorised use of resources are the order of the day.'[430]
— *De Andere Krant*, Dutch newspaper

‘During the appeal against the book ban, it immediately becomes clear that Edwin Giltay has more evidence: 30 pieces versus one.’[431]
— *Schrijven Magazine*, Dutch writer’s monthly

‘People in high places trying to cover up their own mess, getting nailed by their own dirt. If this wasn’t a bloody serious case, the reader could perceive this story as a great joke.’[432]
— *LeesKost*, Dutch books blog

‘*The Cover-up General* was banned in the Netherlands by court order. Giltay denied giving false information, and in 2016 the ban was revoked by the Court of Appeal The Hague.’[433]
— *Koran Sindo*, Indonesian daily

‘Reads like a boys’ adventure book.’[434]
— *PhotoNmagazine*, former Dutch magazine

‘Giltay reveals things that cannot bear the light of day. And, of course, he answers the one question: who is the general who is keeping the lid on this cover-up?[435]
— *New Word Order*, book blog

‘An exciting documentary thriller about a scandal relating to the disappearance of a photo roll in a laboratory in The Hague.’[436]
— *Dnevni avaz*, Bosnian daily

‘Marihuana is allowed there, but not a book on Srebrenica.’[437]
— *Vesti*, Serbian daily

‘Book recommendation! The book of the deployment of spies and the photo roll of Dutchbat III is now released again so everyone can read what actually happened in the Netherlands.’[438]
— Veteran’s organisation Dutchbat III

‘Sounds like a Hollywood production, but concerns a true story.’[439]
— *Student*, Slovenian youth portal

‘This thriller is a fine read and it truly happened. And when do you read something about government espionage?’[440]
— Amsterdam FM

‘A must-read for everybody who wants to know more about government espionage in practice and the dangers entailed for all involved.’[441]
— Dutch library institute Biblion (1st review)

‘In a compelling way, the author describes the rather transparent activity of a secret agent he got confronted with at the internet service provider where he worked at the time.’[442]
— Dutch library institute Biblion (2nd review)

Abbreviations

AIVD	General Intelligence and Security Service (Dutch: *Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst*). From 2002.
BVD	Domestic Security Service (Dutch: *Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst*). From 1949 to 2002. Predecessor of AIVD.
CTIVD	Review Committee on the Intelligence and Security Services (Dutch: *Commissie van Toezicht betreffende de Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdiensten*)
DGSE	General Directorate for External Security (French: *Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure*)
ECHR	European Convention of Human Rights
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
IGK	Inspector-General of the Armed Forces (Dutch: *inspecteur-generaal der krijgsmacht*)
MARID	Navy Intelligence Service (Dutch: *Marine Inlichtingendienst*). From 1949 to 1988.
MID	Military Intelligence Service (Dutch: *Militaire Inlichtingendienst*). From 1988 to 2002. Predecessor of MIVD.
MIVD	Military Intelligence and Security Service (Dutch: *Militaire Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst*). From 2002.
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NHC	Netherlands Helsinki Committee
NIOD	NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (Dutch: *NIOD Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies*)
NCTV	National Coordinator for Security and Counter-Terrorism (Dutch: *Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid*).
NOS	Dutch Broadcasting Foundation (Dutch: *Nederlandse Omroep Stichting*)
QRA	Quick Reaction Alert

Notes

The names in the notes are written as in the referenced documents. Exceptions include the following, whose names are fictitious: Jasper, Mark, Monica, Sander and Mr Hartogs. Moreover, to ensure their privacy, their real names have been redacted in the various pieces that are published on the book website thecoverupgeneral.com.

CHAPTER 1

1. Invitation from Major of Marines J. Wichelo, Head of Recruitment Information of the Defence Recruitment & Selection. Concerning an information meeting about working as a naval officer, on 3 April 1998 at the Naval Barracks Amsterdam. 18 March 1998.
2. Lieutenant Frans Adrianus Bernard Erkelens is listed as one of the Dutch Officers working on the Burma-Siam Railway, 1 November 1944. Source: National Archives in Washington, D.C., United States (record group 407, box 121, volume 3, Thailand).
   URL: japansekrijgsgevangenkampen.nl/Birma-Siam%20officieren%20nov%201944.htm
3. Letter from H.M. Queen Wilhelmina to Mr F.A.B. Erkelens expressing her sincere condolences on the death of both his parents. Royal Palace Amsterdam, 11 December 1947.
   URL: x.com/edwingiltay/status/1466767708305956868
4. Statement of oath of allegiance, Recruitment Department of the Royal Navy, signed in Scheveningen on 19 April 1998.
5. Confirmation of temporary deployment in the Telesales Department of Casema, from consultant Sander of employment agency Randstad. Rijswijk, 8 June 1998. Reference: 1594–CASE–GILT.
6. Invitation to psychological screening, sent by the Head of the Appointments Office of the Royal Navy, Navy Captain of Special Services First Class R.J. Dekker-Prinsen. Amsterdam, 4 June 1998.
7. See: Thomassen, Jean. *Oude meesters van morgen: de Daan Enneking Collectie* ('Old masters of tomorrow: the Daan Enneking Collection'). Amsterdam: Van Soeren, 2000.
8. Letter from Private Secretary M.C.C. Wijnen of H.R.H. Princess Irene to the Honourable Mr F. Erkelens. The Hague, 19 September 1961.

9. *'Kunstenaars over "voelkunst": "Tast en kijk zonder gêne"'* ('Artists on "feel art": "Feel and look without shame"'). Daily *Het Vrije Volk*, 27 November 1982, page 15.
   URL: delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&identifier=ddd:010961239:mpeg21:a0317
10. Appointment Order No. 020 of the President of the drumhead court-martial of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army at Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia), 26 October 1948.
    URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/krijgsraad.jpg
11. Thomassen. *Oude meesters van morgen*.
12. Rees, Willem Adriaan van. *Toontje Poland: Voorafgegaan door eenige Indische typen* ('Toontje Poland: preceded by a few East Indian types'). Arnhem: D.A. Thieme, 1867.

CHAPTER 3

13. Letter to the Head of the Selection Department at the Naval Barracks Amsterdam. Scheveningen, 21 June 1998.

CHAPTER 5

14. Ian Knoop travelled to Egypt with Frans Erkelens Jr. in the role of Frans' impresario. He confirmed his friendship with the Minister in an e-mail. Subject: 're: Meta-realist Frans Erkelens'. 1 September 2009.
15. Jensen, M.W. and G. Platje. *De MARID: De Marine Inlichtingendienst van binnenuit belicht* ('The MARID: Naval Intelligence Service from the inside out'). The Hague: Sdu Publishers, 1997, page 403.
16. Paintings of senior officers and photographs of Commodore Jan van Dulm feature in the book *Schilderijen van Frans Erkelens met betrekking tot zijn beginperiode* ('Paintings of Frans Erkelens regarding his early period'), composed by his sister Betty Giltay-Erkelens. It is donated to the RKD-Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague.

CHAPTER 6

17. Letter from E.M. Beezemer of Recruitment & Selection, Deputy Head of the Office for Psychological Screening Royal Netherlands Navy. Amsterdam, 13 July 1998.
18. Letter to domestic security service BVD. Leiden, 2 July 1994. Subject: 'Dossier E.F. Giltay'.
19. Letter from the Acting Head of the Domestic Security Service A. Kievits, on behalf of the Home Secretary. The Hague, 22 August 1995. Subject: *'uw verzoek om inzage'* ('your request for examining'). Reference: 2.214.163–4A.

20. Telephone conversation with Helena Zuidema of the Central Judicial Documentation of the District Court of The Hague, 29 September 1998.
21. Personal interview with C.F.L. Zaat-Bolland, coordinator Application Management of the Corps Directorate & Staff Section, at the Hague Police Headquarters, 14 October 1998 at 2.00 PM.
22. Appeal to the Personnel Directorate of the Royal Netherlands Navy. Scheveningen, 21 October 1998. Sent by registered mail.
23. Letter from selection psychologist L.K.S. Kruithoed on behalf of the Director of Personnel, Royal Netherlands Navy. The Hague, 23 November 1998. Subject: *'antwoord bezwaarschrift'* ('reply to appeal'). Reference: SWO/182/WE.SE.402.
24. Answer by Deputy Minister of Education, Culture and Science A. Nuis to questions by Member of Parliament G. Valk concerning the collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden. Received on 15 July 1998. Parliamentary questions, number 1554, 1997–1998 session.
    URL: zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/ah-tk-19971998-1554.html
25. *'Leids museum mist tienduizenden stukken'* ('Leiden museum is missing tens of thousands of pieces'), daily *de Volkskrant*, 16 July 1998.
    URL: vk.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/leids-museum-mist-tienduizenden-stukken~b2635453/
26. Petition to the National Ombudsman. Scheveningen, 1 December 1998. Subject: *'Verzoekschrift inzake sollicitatie bij het Ministerie van Defensie'* ('Petition concerning job application at the Ministry of Defence').
27. Letter from National Ombudsman M. Oosting to the Minister of Defence. The Hague, 18 January 1999. Reference: 98.07789 003 and case handler P.P.F. Schets.
28. Letter from Permanent Secretary D.J. Barth on behalf of the Minister of Defence to the National Ombudsman. The Hague, 2 March 1999. Subject: *'Uw brief 18 januari 1999'* ('Your letter of 18 January 1999'). MoD's reference: CNO 99/001 9900134. Ombudsman's reference: 98.07789 003. The letterhead refers to the Directorate of Legal Affairs, Department of Administrative, Criminal and Disciplinary Law.

    Appendix 1 concerns a report by the MID Chief of Staff dated 12 February 1999 titled *'Notitie'* ('Note') regarding an *'Intern onderzoek giltay'* ('Internal investigation giltay'). Reference: DET/51/99. The report was written by MID Major R.F.J.H. de Ruijter and his Adjutant Rave. Copies were sent to the Head of the Counter-Intelligence and Security Department (HACIV) and the Head of the MID-Detachment (HMIDDET). It contains statements by former MID officer Monica and the Head of the

Intelligence Department Navy Captain W.H.C. van Straten.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/chef-staf-mid.pdf

29. Ibid.
30. State portrait H.M. Queen Beatrix, by Frans Erkelens Jr., oil painting on canvas, early 1990s. Depicted on page 122.
URL: franserkelens.com
31. See letters from Beezemer (13 July 1998) and Kruithoed (23 November 1998).
32. First testimonial from Randstad Callflex. Rijswijk, 22 April 1999.
33. Second testimonial from Randstad Callflex. Rijswijk, 20 May 1999.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/bijlage6.jpg
34. Testimonial by G.M. Doedée, vice president Human Resources of Casema. Delft, 8 June 1999.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/bijlage4.jpg
35. Statement on Mrs [Monica], prepared and signed by Jasper of his own free will in Oosterhout on 10 June 1999.
36. Letter to National Ombudsman M. Oosting. Scheveningen, 10 May 1999. Subject: *'Onderzoek 98.07789 inzake sollicitatie bij het Ministerie van Defensie'* ('Inquiry 98.07789 concerning job application at the Ministry of Defence').
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/bedrijfsspionage.pdf
37. Letter to National Ombudsman, M. Oosting, Scheveningen, 28 May 1999. Subject: *'Aanvullend verzoekschrift c.q. onderzoek 98.07789 inzake sollicitatie bij het Ministerie van Defensie'* ('Supplementary petition i.e. inquiry 98.07789 concerning job application at the Ministry of Defence'). Sent by registered mail.
38. Report *'Militaire Inlichtingen en Veiligheid'* ('Military Intelligence and Security') by the project group of the same name headed by Rear Admiral S.W. van Idsinga, March 1995.
39. Interview with case handler P.P.F. Schets at the office of the National Ombudsman in The Hague on 12 January 1999.
40. Letter to National Ombudsman M. Oosting. Scheveningen, 30 May 1999. Subject: *'Toezending aanvullend verzoekschrift c.q. onderzoek 98.07789 inzake sollicitatie bij het Ministerie van Defensie/Verzoek om vervanging medewerker de heer P.P.F. Schets'* ('Submission of supplementary petition i.e. enquiry 98.07789 concerning job application at the Ministry of Defence/ request for replacement of Mr P.P.F. Schets'). Sent by registered mail.
41. Letter from Deputy Ombudsman L. de Bruin. The Hague, 17 June 1999. Reference: 98.07789 011. Handled by Mr H.J.I.M. de Rooij.
42. Letter to G. Spong. Scheveningen, 19 May 1999.
43. Letter from G. Spong. The Hague, 28 May 1999. Reference: GILTAY/ADVICE SP/.

44. Complaint to the Public Prosecutor at the District Court of The Hague, S.J.A.M. van Gend. Scheveningen, 28 June 1999. Subject: *'Klaagschrift inzake artikel 261 juncto 262 Wetboek van Strafrecht; klager de heer E.F. Giltay versus gedaagde mevrouw [Monica]'* ('Complaint concerning Article 261 in conjunction with Article 262 of the Dutch Criminal Code; plaintiff Mr E.F. Giltay versus defendant Mrs [Monica]'). Sent by registered mail.
45. National TV News *NOS Journaal* opening topic: *'Minister De Grave ontslaat top militaire inlichtingendienst MID'* ('Minister De Grave sacks heads of military intelligence service MID'). Presented by Pia Dijkstra, with a statement by Minister De Grave in the broadcast. 13 July 1999, 8:00 PM.
    URL: zoeken.beeldengeluid.nl/program/urn:vme:default:program:2101608080064630031
46. *'De Grave zet leiding MID aan de kant'* ('De Grave dismisses MID leadership'), daily *de Volkskrant*, 14 July 1999, front page. See also the letter from the Minister of Defence to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Hague, 13 July 1999. Subject: *'Srebrenica; Brief minister met gespreksverslagen over rechts-extremistisch gedrag van Dutchbat-militairen'* ('Srebrenica; Letter of Minister with interview reports on right-wing extremist behaviour of Dutchbat soldiers'). Parliamentary Paper 26122, number 13.
    URL's: vk.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/de-grave-zet-leiding-mid-aan-de-kant~b64e0a18 and zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-26122-13.html
47. *'Reportage over falende inlichtingendiensten en verkeerde inschattingen bij de bescherming van de Bosnische moslimenclave door Dutchbat'* ('Report on intelligence failures and miscalculations in the protection of the Bosnian Muslim enclave by Dutchbat'), radio programme *Argos*, 29 June 2001.
48. Berts, Dick and Voskuil, Bert, *'Bij defensie raakt alleen de doofpot niet zoek'* ('Only the cover-up is not lost at the MoD'), opinion magazine *Nieuwe Revu*, 17 November 1999, page 46. That the development of the negatives had failed by accident, was stated under oath by intelligence officer De Ruyter during his interrogation on 6 December 2002 in the House of Representatives by the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into the Fall of Srebrenica.
    URL: zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-28506-3.pdf
49. The name of Intelligence Major De Ruyter – who plays a leading role in this cover-up affair – is spelled differently in official documents. This leads to confusion. Was it Major De Ruiter, Major De Ruyter or Major De Ruijter who complained that Lieutenant Rutten's negatives had failed because developer, bleach and fixer had been mixed up? I have also come across different spellings of Monica's surname and other intelligence officers. Is the Minister of Defence closely briefed by the Head of

the MID General Vanderwijer, General Vandeweyer, or should he rely on General Van der Weijer?

50. Supplementary complaint to the Public Prosecutor S.J.A.M. van Gend. Scheveningen, 21 July 1999. Subject: *'Klaagschrift/klachtschrift inzake artikel 268 dan wel artikel 261, 262 en 272 van het Wetboek van Strafrecht; klager de heer E.F. Giltay versus verdachte mevrouw [Monica]'* ('Complaint concerning Article 268 or Articles 261, 262 and 272 of the Criminal Code; plaintiff Mr E.F. Giltay against defendant Mrs [Monica]'). Sent by registered mail.
51. Letter from the Chief Public Prosecutor S.J.A.M. van Gend. The Hague, 26 August 1999. Reference: STAFF/HO 871 00088.
52. Letter to National Ombudsman M. Oosting. The Hague, 21 September 1999. Reference: *'Onderzoek 98.07789 inzake sollicitatie bij het Ministerie van Defensie'* ('Inquiry 98.07789 concerning job application at the Ministry of Defence'). Subject: *'Toezending klacht inzake het optreden dan wel het niet-optreden van mr. S.J.A.M. van Gend in zijn hoedanigheid van Hoofdofficier van Justitie in het Arrondissement Den Haag'* ('Submission of complaint concerning the conduct or failure to conduct of S.J.A.M. van Gend in his capacity as Chief Public Prosecutor in the District of The Hague'). The letter contains three appendices, including the supplementary letter of complaint to the Public Prosecutor dated 21 July 1999. The acknowledgement of receipt was signed by Barbara Plugge.
53. Report 1999/507 of the National Ombudsman Roel Fernhout, 17 December 1999.
    URL: ombudsman.nl/publicaties/rapporten/1999507
54. Two letters of complaint to the Chief Commissioner, specifically the Chief of Police of The Hague J. Wiarda. Scheveningen, 16 September 1999. The acknowledgement of receipt was signed by Mrs E.P. den Haan.
55. Note of anonymous telephone conversation on 2 April 2000 around 3.02 AM. I also reported the incident in a letter to Mr Schaepman of the Duinstraat police station in Scheveningen. Scheveningen, 23 April 2000. Subject: *'Mijn brief d.d. 22 april 2000 ter instelling formele beroepsprocedure'* ('My letter of 22 April 2000 initiating the formal complaint procedure'). Police reference: RO99 15395 of 02–09–1999.
56. Police report by Edwin Giltay, recorded by Detective A.A.C. van der Klauw of the Hague police, at the Duinstraat police station in Scheveningen. Number PL1523/1999/16079, 12 June 2000 at 10.45 AM.
57. Mr Van Nood of the Duinstraat police station in Scheveningen confirmed in a telephone conversation on 21 July 2000 at about 4.15 PM that the report had been forwarded to the Public Prosecutor's Office in The Hague.
58. Letter from the Inspector of Police of the Hague Region, A. Teiwes, Assistant Public Prosecutor on behalf of the Public Prosecutor. The Hague, 19

September 2000. Reference: PL1523/1999/16079.
59. Letter to H.M. Beatrix, Queen of the Netherlands. Scheveningen, 14 October 2000.
60. Testimonial by Henk Brouwer, Director International Operations of IBM Netherlands. Amsterdam, 18 October 1994.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/ibm.pdf
61. Testimonial by Charles Vivian of Deloitte & Touche, 6 April 2000.
62. Two letters to the Minister of Defence F.H.G. de Grave. Written in Scheveningen on 21 August and 15 October 2000. The letters have MoD references CNO 99/001 9900134 and CNO 99/001 2000003670. The acknowledgements of receipt were signed by Hazenoot and Beek respectively.
63. Letter from the Permanent Secretary on behalf of the Minister of Defence, signed by Deputy Permanent Secretary H.H. Hulshof. The Hague, 30 October 2000. Subject: *'Rehabilitatie-/rectificatieverzoek'* ('Request for rehabilitation/correction'). Reference: CNO 99/001 2000004399.
64. Letter from the Permanent Secretary on behalf of the Minister of Defence, signed by Deputy Permanent Secretary H.H. Hulshof. The Hague, 26 September 2000. Subject: *'Rehabilitatie-/rectificatieverzoek'* ('Request for rehabilitation/correction'). Reference: CNO 99/001 2000003670.
65. Letter from the Permanent Secretary, 30 October 2000.
66. Letter from N. van de Pol for the Director of the Queen's Office. The Hague, 31 October 2000. Reference: REK 00.003477.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/koningin.jpg
67. Advice from Chairman Ph.M. Weyenborg-Pot of the Independent Police Complaints Committee of the Hague Region to Chief of Police (and Mayor) Deetman on the complaint lodged by Mr E.F. Giltay, The Hague. Signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee. The Hague, 13 December 2000.
68. Letter from Chief of Police W.J. Deetman. The Hague, 14 December 2000. Reference: 22–7–2000. Subject: *'bezwaar tegen klachtafdoening'* ('objection to settlement of complaint').
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/deetman.pdf
69. Ibid.
70. Letter from the Director of Police L.M.C. Ongering, on behalf of the Home Secretary. Subject: *'uw klacht over politieoptreden'* ('your complaint about police conduct'). The Hague, 11 January 2001.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/minbiza.pdf

CHAPTER 9

71. Duque de Baena. (26 December 2022). In Wikipedia, Dutch version. Accessed 26 February 2023.

URL: nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duque_de_Baena

72. Thomassen. *Oude meesters van morgen*.
73. Trahair, Richard C.S. *Encyclopedia of Cold War Espionage, Spies, and Secret Operations*. New York: Enigma Books, 2009. Lemma 'Honeytrap operations', page 127.
URL: books.google.nl/books?id=tFJLIIGVk10C&hl=nl
74. 'KGB sex espionage', Russian daily *Pravda*, 8 July 2002.
URL: english.pravda.ru/news/society/45946-n/
75. Report *Geen onderscheid naar geslacht bij werving en selectie* ('No sex discrimination in recruitment and selection'), judgement number 2000–38 of the Equal Treatment Commission, 30 June 2000.
URL: oordelen.mensenrechten.nl/oordeel/2000-38
76. Giltay, Edwin. Paper *Het Arabisch-Israëlisch nucleair conflict* (The Arab-Israeli nuclear conflict'). Leiden: 1991.
77. *Rapport Nieuw Evenwicht. Rapport Doorlichting MID, Fase 2: nader onderzoek en advies* ('New Balance Report. Report Vetting MID, Phase 2: further research and advice'), prepared under the direction of F.H. Herman de Groot of the Ministry of Defence, 4 November 1998.
78. Ibid., page 42.
79. See also: Eerenbeemt, Marc van den. *'Marinier L. smokkelde coke alsof het niets was'* ('Marine L. smuggled coke as if it were nothing'), daily *de Volkskrant*, 9 October 1998.
URL: vk.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/marinier-l-smokkelde-coke-alsof-het-niets-was~be8c2fb1/
80. Docters van Leeuwen, Arthur. *Een spoor van vernieuwing* ('A path of renewal'). Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2020, page 287.
URL: books.google.nl/books?id=zZf7DwAAQBAJ&dq=
81. Personal conservation with Edwin Keizer, parliamentary assistant to MP Valk, at the Binnenhof in The Hague, 25 August 1998.
82. Frans Erkelens Jr's studio was located at the Noordeinde street near the Royal Palace in the 1970s. To circumvent protocol, H.R.H. Princess Irene occasionally visited him. Uncle Frans denies rumours that he had a sexual relationship with her. He says they only kissed passionately.
83. Docters van Leeuwen. *Een spoor van vernieuwing*, page 309.
84. See also: *'Verdonk klampt zich nu vast aan René Lancee'* ('Verdonk now clings to René Lancee'), daily *De Pers*, 3 December 2008.
85. *'Spijkers verdient meer dan eerherstel'* ('Spijkers deserves more than rehabilitation'), daily *de Volkskrant*, 8 January 2011.
URL: vk.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/spijkers-verdient-meer-dan-eerherstel~bf3bcb7e/
86. *'Van Velzen wil opheldering over bedreiging klokkenluider door staatssecretaris'*

('Van Velzen wants clarification on threat to whistle-blower by Deputy Minister'), Socialist Party website, filed under *Nieuws* ('News'), *Defensie* ('Defence') and *Democratie* ('Democracy'). 18 October 2005.
URL: sp.nl/nieuws/2005/10/van-velzen-wil-opheldering-over-bedreiging-klokkenluider-door-staatssecretaris

87. Note to Lucas entitled: *'Waar gaat het om?'* ('What is this all about?') As key points I wrote down: *'Principes: Primaat politiek over defensie; verdedigen van de democratische rechtsstaat'* ('Principles: Primacy of politics over the MoD; defending the democratic rule of law'). Scheveningen, April 1999.

CHAPTER 10

88. Huisjes, Bert. *'Generaal buiten dienst: Wonderboy Van Baal werd doofpotgeneraal'* ('Wonder boy Van Baal turned cover-up general'), daily *Algemeen Dagblad*, 18 April 2002, front page.
89. Report *Srebrenica: een 'veilig' gebied: Reconstructie, achtergronden, gevolgen en analyses van de val van een Safe Area* ('Srebrenica: a 'safe' area: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analysis of the fall of a Safe Area'). Published by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation. Amsterdam: Boom, 2002.
URL: publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicarapportniod_nl.pdf
90. *'Kabinet stort in'* ('Cabinet collapses'), daily *de Telegraaf*, 16 April 2002.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20220609064453/https://krant.telegraaf.nl/krant/archief/20020416/teksten/bin.pronk.kabinet.kok.srebrenica.html
91. Cann, Giselle van, and Groot, Ed. *'Nederland gidsland: Val Kok markeert einde periode'* ('Guide country the Netherlands: fall of Kok marks end of period'), daily *Het Financieele Dagblad*, 17 April 2002.
92. Telephone notes of a conversation with press photographer Cor de Kock on 22 April 2011, 1.47 PM.
93. Telephone notes of conversation with Mr Hartogs of Casema on 18 April 2002, 2.30 PM.
94. *Algemeen Dagblad*, 18 April 2002.
95. Letter from the Minister of Defence to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the retirement from his post of Lieutenant General A.P.P.M. van Baal, The Hague, 17 April 2002. Parliamentary document 61301. Reference: 26122 and number 31.
URL: zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-26122-31.html
96. *Algemeen Dagblad*, 18 April 2002.

97. Letter from G. Spong. 29 October 1999. Subject: SP 07.3204.
98. Complaint pursuant to Article 12 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, with nine appendices, addressed to the Court of Appeal in The Hague, attention of the Registrar of Criminal Cases. Submitted by miss A. Wladimiroff of Wladimiroff Waling Schreuders Lawyers on behalf of E.F. Giltay. 7 March 2001.
99. Letter from the Court of Appeal in The Hague, 14 October 2002. Subject: *'Oproeping klager'* ('Summons of plaintiff'). Case number: 01065K09, with defendant Monica, who was not summoned.
100. Letter to A. Wladimiroff. Scheveningen, 18 March 2000. Subject: *'Verzoek om conceptklaagschrift conform artikel 12–procedure inzake onderstaand kenmerk/Toezending aanvullende schriftelijke informatie'* ('Request for draft notice of complaint in accordance with Article 12 procedure on the following reference/Sending additional written information'). Reference: '/DRD 07.3204 GILTAY/ADVICE LETTER DATED 15 MARCH 2000'.
101. Letter from A. Wladimiroff, 21 March 2000. Subject: 'AW/AT 07.3204 GILTAY/ADVICE'.
102. *'Wladimiroff staat Milosevic bij'* ('Wladimiroff assists Milosevic'), daily *Trouw*, 7 September 2001.
URL: trouw.nl/nieuws/wladimiroff-staat-milosevic-bij~ba1ebf98/
103. The correspondence by e-mail with the hotel concierge in Paris consists of 15 messages in English sent between 2 and 31 October 2000. I also received two letters from the concierge by post containing personal photographs, flyers, etc.
104. Tomlinson, Richard. *The Big Breach: From Top Secret to Maximum Security*. Moscow: Mainstream Publishing, 2001.
105. *'Greenpeace herdenkt Nederlandse activist'* ('Greenpeace commemorates Dutch activist'), daily *Trouw*, 10 July 2010.
URL: trouw.nl/nieuws/greenpeace-herdenkt-nederlandse-activist~bac08077/
106. Ruling of Court of Appeal, The Hague, 19 December 2002. Serial number: 01065K09. Decision of Vice-President also chairman De Vries and judges Van Dijk and Coster van Voorhout.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/artikeltwaalf.pdf
107. Letter from secretary Marjanne Eilers of the FNV Ledenservice, Rotterdam, 28 May 2001. Reference: 21503706/GILTAY/ME.
108. Letter to Ben Beelaard. Scheveningen, 28 June 2001. Reference: 3005.13/B, with explanation of the dossier of sixteen documents. Sent by registered mail.
109. Letter from H.M. Schuh of the FNV Ledenservice, Rotterdam, 21 November 2001. Reference: 21508420/GILTAY/HS. A copy was sent to Beelaard.

110. Letter from A.T. Röst of the FNV Ledenservice, Rotterdam, 28 November 2001. Reference: 21503706/GILTAY/PG.
111. Klopper, Roy. *'Defensie vervangt top wervingsbureau'* ('MoD replaces heads of recruitment agency'), daily *De Telegraaf*, 27 April 2001.
112. *'Top Werving Defensie de laan uit'* ('MoD's recruitment chiefs sacked'), *NRC Handelsblad*, 27 April 2001.
URL: nrc.nl/nieuws/2001/04/27/top-werving-defensie-de-laan-uit-7539730
113. Ministry of Defence website. Section: *'Militaire Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst, Wapenschild'* ('Military Intelligence and Security Service, Coat of Arms'). Version dated 22 May 2013. See also: *'MIVD borstzakembleem'* ('MIVD breast pocket emblem'), *Ingelicht: Informatiemagazine voor de Militaire Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst* ('Information magazine for the Military Intelligence and Security Service'), October 2005, issue 6, page 2.
URL's: view the source of web.archive.org/web/20130522135759/http://www.defensie.nl/mivd/organisatie_mivd/wapenschild/
and see also stichtingargus.nl/bvd/m/in/ingelicht-2005-6.pdf
114. *'Van Baal wordt ombudsman krijgsmacht'* ('Van Baal appointed Ombudsman of the Armed Forces'), *Nederlands Dagblad*, 5 September 2003.
URL: nd.nl/nieuws/politiek/679832/van-baal-wordt-ombudsman-krijgsmacht
115. Letter to Inspector General of the Armed Forces, Lieutenant General A.P.P.M. van Baal. Subject: *'Rehabilitatie en schadevergoeding'* ('Rehabilitation and compensation'). Scheveningen, 1 November 2004. Sent by registered mail.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/vanbaal1.jpg
116. Letter from Chief of Staff of the IGK Navy Captain of Administration H.T. Wagenaar, on behalf of the IGK. Hilversum, 12 November 2004. Subject: *'Bemiddeling'* ('Mediation'). Reference: 040275/001.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/vanbaal2.jpg
117. See also: Letter from the Minister of Defence to the House of Representatives on the role of the IGK. The Hague, 20 May 2009. Parliamentary Paper 131234. Reference: '31700 X, NUMBER 115'.
URL: parlementairemonitor.nl/9353000/1/j9vvij5epmj1ey0/vi5n7tw23evo
118. Letter to Inspector General of the Armed Forces Lieutenant General A.P.P.M. van Baal. Subject: *'Rehabilitatie en schadevergoeding'* ('Rehabilitation and compensation'). Scheveningen, 2 December 2004. Sent by registered mail.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/vanbaal3.pdf
119. Jensen and Platje. *De MARID*, pages 325–331.
120. Letter from the Inspector-General of the Armed Forces, Lieutenant General of Artillery A.P.P.M. van Baal. Hilversum, 9 December 2004.

Subject: *'Bemiddeling'* ('Mediation'). Reference: 040275/003.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/vanbaal4.pdf

121. Speech by General Van Baal at his swearing-in as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Malieveld, The Hague, 6 April 2001.
122. Interview with the new Chairman of the Board of Directors, Ad van Baal: *'Een leven lang dienen'* ('A lifetime of service'), *Politieacademiekrant* (information magazine of the Police Academy), Apeldoorn, issue 12, September/October 2007, pages 12–13.
123. Statement entitled *'De eed of belofte'* ('The oath or promise'). Royal Navy Recruitment Section, Defence Recruitment and Selection, December 1997.
124. Derix, Steven. *'De eer van een Franse generaal'* ('The honour of a French general'), *NRC Handelsblad*, 30 November 2001.
URL: nrc.nl/nieuws/2001/11/30/de-eer-van-een-franse-generaal-7567300
125. *Srebrenica – rapport sur un massacre* ('Srebrenica – report on a massacre'), French parliamentary enquiry into the events in Srebrenica, chaired by deputy François Loncle and with rapporteurs René André and François Lamy. Paris, 22 November 2001, chapter 2, section B, page 99.
URL: assemblee-nationale.fr/rap-info/i3413-01.asp
126. Ibid., page 100.
127. Letter to Minister of Defence Van Middelkoop. The Hague, 1 September 2007. Subject: *'Eerherstel'* ('Rehabilitation'). Sent by registered mail.
128. Letter from Permanent Secretary A.H.C. Annink, on behalf of Minister of Defence Van Middelkoop. The Hague, 7 January 2008. Subject: *'Eerherstel'* ('Rehabilitation'). Reference: C/2007034888.
129. Letter to B. Böhler of Böhler Franken Koppe Wijngaarden Lawyers. The Hague, 7 March 2010.
130. My report on the storeroom fire for the Hague police. The Hague, 4 January 2011.
131. Official report of Edwin Giltay recorded by special investigating officer Helena van Duin of the Hague Police Force, number PL1512 2011002721–1, 4 January 2011. Case report for arson, at the Jan Hendrikstraat police station in The Hague.
132. Nijeboer, Alexander. *Een man tegen de staat: de tragische strijd van defensieklokkenluider Fred Spijkers* ('A man against the state: the tragic struggle of Defence whistle-blower Fred Spijkers'). Breda: Papieren Tijger, 2006.
133. Molhuysen, Maaike and Stiller, Louis. *Handboek voor schrijvers* ('Handbook for writers'). Amsterdam: Augustus, 2009, chapter 21 *'Hierbij daag ik u!'* ('I hereby summon you!').
URL: books.google.nl/books?id=6L1sAwAAQBAJ

134. Among other things, in an e-mail to Coen Borgman of SpeakEasy dated 21 April 2014. Subject: *'Voortgang publicatie'* ('Progress of publication').
135. Letter from Permanent Secretary Barth, 2 March 1999.
136. Fax from Monica to case handler Schets of the Office of the National Ombudsman, The Hague. Ombudsman number: 9807787017. It is noteworthy that in this fax, Monica misspelled her own surname with the letters 'ij' instead of the letter 'i'. In addition, the fax is dated 16 October 1999, whereas the date stamp indicates that it was received on 16 September 1999.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/fax.pdf
137. Letter to Senator F.H.G. de Grave. The Hague, 24 September 2012.
138. E-mail from F.H.G. de Grave. 3 October 2012. Subject: *'uw brief'* ('your letter').
139. After the publication of this book, I heard the former Commander of the Armed Forces off-duty General van Uhm prescribe this precaution at a public meeting of the Royal Netherlands Army. The event was the 'Mi-Literary Afternoon' at the Utrecht Public Library, organised as part of the Army Day on 13 May 2015.
140. Conversation with editor-copywriter Robert Preece. Rotterdam, 26 October 2013.
141. Plame, Valerie. *Fair Game: My Life as a Spy, My Betrayal by the White House*. Simon & Schuster: New York, United States, 2007.
URL: books.google.nl/books?id=nVmteZqk5mYC
142. Letter to the Minister of Defence with the Dutch manuscript of *The Cover-up General* attached. The Hague, 10 March 2014. Delivered in person with proof of delivery.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/aanbieding.jpg
143. Letter to the Home Secretary with the Dutch manuscript of *The Cover-up General* attached. The Hague, 18 March 2014. Delivered in person with proof of delivery.
144. E-mail from Jan Pronk, 31 July 2014. Subject: '*Re: Voorwoord voor het boek De doofpotgeneraal*' ('Re: Foreword for the book The Cover-up General').
145. E-mail confirmation of return flight Eindhoven–Tuzla from Wizz Air, 24 August 2014. Subject: 'Your itinerary: PEJJ3R'. Outbound flight on 14 September and return flight on 16 September 2014.

CHAPTER 13

146. WhatsApp conversation with Coen Borgman, 25 November 2014.
147. Announcement of book launch *The Cover-up General*, daily *NRC Handelsblad*, 22 November 2014, page 26.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20141127123126/http://vanbaarsel.net:80/temp/

NRC22-11-2014pag24-27.pdf

148. Schoonhoven, Silvan. *'Uitzendkracht klem tussen de spionnen'* ('Temp caught between spies'), review in the daily *Leidsch Dagblad*, 27 November 2014, pages 2–3. Also appeared in the dailies: *Gooi and Eemlander*, *Haarlems Dagblad*, *IJmuider Courant* and *Noordhollands Dagblad*.
149. Letter to Minister of Defence Jeanine Hennis. The Hague, 15 February 2015. Also sent by e-mail with the subject *'MIVD-klacht'* ('MIVD complaint').
150. E-mail to Home Secretary Ronald Plasterk. Subject: *'Re: Zondagbrief: Wet Normering Topinkomens'* ('Re: Sunday letter: Top Income Standardisation Act'), 29 December 2014. A copy was e-mailed to the CTIVD.
151. Letter from Permanent Secretary Richard van Zwol, on behalf of the Home Secretary. Subject: *'Uw klacht'* ('Your complaint'). Reference: 84F6D4A9-OR1-2.0. 5 February 2015.
152. Letter from Permanent Secretary Richard van Zwol, on behalf of the Home Secretary. Subject: *'Uw klacht'* ('Your complaint'). Reference: 8542B7B7-OR1-1.0. 2 March 2015.
153. The visit to the CTIVD in The Hague took place in the context of another investigation: At the end of 2014, it was reported that Britta Böhler's law firm had been bugged by the AIVD for years. Because I had approached her on 7 March 2010 with my witness report, I filed a complaint against the AIVD with Home Secretary Plasterk on 29 December 2014 owing to the possible breach of confidentiality. I also asked him how the AIVD had reacted to my contact with Böhler. Following an investigation by the CTIVD, the complaint was declared unfounded by Permanent Secretary Van Zwol on 17 April 2015. The question of the AIVD's response was left completely unanswered.
154. Letter from Permanent Secretary Richard van Zwol, signed on behalf of the Home Secretary. Subject: *'Uw klacht over de AIVD'* ('Your complaint about the AIVD'). Reference: 85978181-OR1-2.0. 17 April 2015.
155. Letter from J.A. Hennis, Minister of Defence. Subject: *'Uw klacht over (vermeend) handelen van de MIVD'* ('Your complaint about (alleged) conduct of the MIVD'). Reference: DIS2015005421. 21 April 2015.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/bijlage17.jpg
156. Letter from H.N. Brouwer, President of the CTIVD, to R.H.A. Plasterk, Home Secretary, The Hague, 27 March 2015. Subject: *'Reactie CTIVD op doorzending tweede klacht van de heer Giltay over de AIVD'* ('Response of the CTIVD to the referral of Mr Giltay's second complaint against the AIVD'). CTIVD reference: 2015/0069. Ministry reference: 8524B7B7-OR1-1.0.
157. Memo from the Director General of the AIVD General Rob Bertholee to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom

Relations Van Zwol. 10 April 2015. Reference: 8597817F-OR1-1.0. Subject: *'Reactie op klacht van dhr. Giltay; Advies: graag brieven ondertekenen'* ('Response to complaint by Mr Giltay; Advice: please sign letters').

158. Holthuis, Jurriën. *'Boek: Duistere Uitzendkracht'* ('Book: Shady Temp'), review in opinion magazine *Nieuwe Revu*, 4 February 2015, page 56.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/revu.jpg
159. Lardenoye, Fred. *'De doofpotgeneraal'* ('The Cover-up General'), review *Checkpoint magazine*, April 2015, page 29.
URL: content.yudu.com/web/1r3p1/0A1zrki/CP1503/html/index.html?page=29
160. Kumru, Can. *'De doofpotgeneraal'* ('The Cover-up General'), review Dutch Library Service Biblion, April 2015.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20210909213414/https://www.nbdbiblion.nl/sites/nbdbiblion.nl/files/Mediaberichten17-2015_0.pdf
161. The audio-book was published in 2015 by the Dedicon Foundation for the library service Passend Lezen. Exclusively for the blind and partially sighted. Book number A442731, 6 hours and 51 minutes long, narrated in Dutch.
URL: passendlezen.nl
162. Bosman, Suzanne and Mom, Jan. *'De Doofpotgeneraal: burger raakt betrokken bij spionage'* ('The Cover-up General: citizen gets involved in espionage'), live interview with the author for news programme *EenVandaag* on Radio 1, 5 December 2014.
163. E-mail to Marco Gerritsen and Simon van der Sluijs. Subject: *'Over De doofpotgeneraal en het fotorolletje'* ('On The Cover-up General and the roll of film'). 18 December 2014.
164. Memorandum of Grievances on behalf of Ms Sabaheta Fejzić, residing in Vogošća (in the Sarajevo Municipality), Bosnia and Herzegovina, ten other Bosnian women and the Mothers of Srebrenica Foundation, with its registered office in Amsterdam, assisted by M.R. Gerritsen and S.A. van der Sluijs, against the State of the Netherlands (Ministry of General Affairs, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs), residing in The Hague. Case number 200.160.317/01. Registry date: 7 July 2015. The reference to *The Cover-up General* is on page 23.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20230109024742/https://www.vandiepen.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/15-mvs_grieven_7-7-2015.pdf
165. Various e-mails from Colonel Charlef Brantz, including the e-mail with subject *'boek'* ('book') dated 10 March 2015.
166. Ibid.
167. E-mail from Brantz, 21 June 2021. Subject: 'Re: Sarajevo'.
168. E-mail from Brantz, 10 March 2015. Subject: *'boek'* ('book').
169. Notes from telephone conversation with Derk Zwaan, 4 August 2015.

170. E-mail, 16 May 2016. Subject: *'De doofpotgeneraal'* ('The Cover-up General').
171. Jager, Jeroen de. *'Srebrenica-veteraan: Ik zit in een juridische oorlog met Defensie'* ('Srebrenica veteran: I'm in a legal war with the MoD'), public service broadcaster *NOS*, 27 June 2015.
URL: nos.nl/artikel/2043733-srebrenica-veteraan-ik-zit-in-een-juridische-oorlog-met-defensie
172. Facebook chat conversations with Derk Zwaan on 10, 11 and 12 August 2016.
173. Bel, D. van der, Hoorn, A.M. van, and Pieters, J.J.T.M. *Informatie en opsporing: Handboek informatieverwerving, -verwerking en -verstrekking ten behoeve van de opsporingspraktijk* ('Information and investigation: Handbook of information acquisition, processing and provision for investigative practice'). Zeist: Kerckebosch Publishers, 2009, page 382.
174. The full name reads: Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Commonly known as the UN Convention Against Torture.
URL: wetten.overheid.nl/BWBV0002507/1989-01-20
175. E-mail from Amnesty International Senior Press Officer Ruud Bosgraaf. Subject: *'Re: verstoringsmaatregelen'* ('Re: Disruption measures'). 25 May 2021.
176. E-mail from Pepijn Gerrits, Executive Director of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee. Subject: *'re: Mensenrechten NL / art. 8 EVRM'* ('re: Human Rights NL / Art. 8 EVRM'), 12 July 2021.
177. Chat conversations with Zwaan.

CHAPTER 14

178. Giltay, Edwin. *'Militairen bleken op gifbelt gestationeerd'* ('Soldiers found to be stationed at poison dump'), geopolitical magazine *Novini*, 26 November 2018.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20181129063211/http://www.novini.nl/dutchbat-militairen-bleken-op-gifbelt-gestationeerd/
179. E-mail from Brantz, 10 March 2015.
180. *'Meer foto's Srebrenica in archief MIVD'* ('More photos of Srebrenica in MIVD archive'), opinion weekly *Elsevier Weekblad*, 28 November 2016.
URL: ewmagazine.nl/nederland/anp/2016/11/meer-fotos-srebrenica-in-archief-mivd-281116022ANP/
181. Article 361 Dutch Penal Code.
URL: maxius.nl/wetboek-van-strafrecht/artikel361
182. Obbink, Hanne. *'Dutchbat werd willens en wetens op onuitvoerbare missie gestuurd'* ('Dutchbat was knowingly sent on an impossible mission'), daily *Trouw*, 30 June 2016.

URL: trouw.nl/nieuws/dutchbat-werd-willens-en-wetens-op-onuitvoerbare-missie-gestuurd~b54c63f4/

CHAPTER 15

183. Letter from T.G.F. Lourents of legal expenses insurer DAS addressed to Coen Borgman, trading as SpeakEasy Publisher & Agency. Sent with acknowledgement of receipt, Amsterdam, 24 July 2015. Dossier number: GDE.1.15.058624. Subject: *'uitgebrachte werk "de doofpotgeneraal" van de schrijver Edwin Giltay; smaad/laster/schending eer en goede [Monica] [sic]'* ('published work "The Cover-up General" by author Edwin Giltay; defamation/blasphemy/violation of honour and good [Monica] [sic]'. A copy with document name DAS_155041026.PDF was also sent as an attachment in an e-mail with the subject GDE.1.15.058624 to both publisher Coen Borgman and author Edwin Giltay.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/das.pdf
184. Report of the Parliamentary Inquiry on Srebrenica (2002–2003), Chapter '*5.3.1. Het mislukte fotorolletje'* ('5.3.1. The failed photo roll'), page 273.
URL: parlementairemonitor.nl/9353000/1/j4nvgs5kjg27kof_j9vvij5epmj1ey0/vi3al1bnvgzt/f=/kst65820_2.pdf
185. *'Het fotorolletje revisited'* ('The photo roll revisited'). Radio programme *Argos*, 13 June 2015, 2 PM.
URL: vpro.nl/argos/media/afleveringen/2015/Het-fotorolletje-revisited.html
186. *'Wat wist de Nederlandse Militaire Inlichtingendienst (MID) in de dagen en weken voor de val van enclave over mogelijke Servische aanvalsplannen?'* ('What did Dutch Military Intelligence (MID) know about possible Serbian attack plans in the days and weeks before the fall of the enclave?'), radio programme *Argos*, 29 June 2001.
URL: vpro.nl/dam/jcr:97e6ebb2-3e21-45f7-83b1-b552dc7d4487/01-06-29-argos-transcriptie-srebrenica-2.pdf
187. Report by the MID Chief of Staff, 12 February 1999.
188. The information on the Dutch title and publication is omitted here from the letter quoted.
189. Notes of telephone conversation with Marco Gerritsen, 28 July 2015 around 11.30 AM.
190. E-mail from Colonel Charlef Brantz, 28 July 2015. Subject: *'Re: Eis tot verbod op het boek "De doofpotgeneraal"'* ('Re: Demand to ban book "The Cover-up General"').
191. E-mail from Jan Pronk, 28 July 2015. Subject: *'Re: Eis tot verbod op "De doofpotgeneraal"'*, 'Re: Demand for ban on "The Cover-up General"'.
192. E-mail to Brenno de Winter. Subject: *'Weerlegging punten van [Monica]'*

('Refutation points regarding [Monica]'), 28 July 2015. With two attachments.

193. E-mail to Brenno de Winter. Subject: *'Bewijzen'* ('Evidence'). 31 July 2015. With three attachments.
194. E-mail from Brenno de Winter. Subject: *'En nu komt ie'* ('And here it comes'). 31 July 2015.
195. E-mail from Brenno de Winter to Mr Wagenaar of DAS. Subject: *'Vragen met betrekking tot "de Doofpotgeneraal"'* ('Questions regarding "The Cover-up General"'). 31 July 2015. E-mail forwarded to me by De Winter.
196. Winter, Brenno de, *'Ex-inlichtingenmedewerker wil verbod boek "fotorolletje Srebrenica"'* ('Ex-intelligence officer wants "Srebrenica photo roll" book banned'), news portal *nu.nl*, 4 August 2015.
    URL: nu.nl/binnenland/4100165/ex-inlichtingenmedewerker-wil-verbod-boek-fotorolletje-srebrenica.html
197. Press release *'Voormalig spion eist verbod boek'* ('Former spy demands book ban'), 4 August 2015.
198. E-mail from Bianca Palm of Jinek's editorial staff, 4 August 2015. Subject: *'re: De doofpotgeneraal'* ('re: The Cover-up General').
199. E-mail from Sanne Bot of *Radio EenVandaag*, 4 August 2015. Subject: *'Re: Eis tot boekverbod'* ('Re: Demand for book ban').
200. E-mail from Sanne Bot of *Radio EenVandaag*, 11 August 2015. Subject: *'Re: Eis tot boekverbod'* ('Re: Demand for book ban').
201. Elzinga, Vincent, *'Oud-MID-er wil dat exx "De doofpotgeneraal" teruggeroepen worden'* ('Former MID employee wants copies of "The Cover-up General" recalled'), literary magazine *Boekblad*, 4 August 2015.
202. Agenda note on a conversation with nursing staff at the Mariahoeve nursing home in The Hague, dated 8 August 2015, entitled *'Oom Frans'* ('Uncle Frans').
203. Word file *'Etiketten 2013'* ('Labels 2013') dated 23 February 2013.
204. E-mail from Fred Lardenoye, editor-in-chief of *Checkpoint* magazine. Subject: *'re: Tweede druk "De doofpotgeneraal" – Via Christ Klep'* ('re: Second edition of "The Cover-up General" – Via Christ Klep'), 26 August 2015.
205. Letter from Chief of Staff Inspector General of Armed Forces Wagenaar, 12 November 2004.
206. The warning letter dated 24 July 2015 suggests this. Monica's summons of a few months later, on 14 October 2015, indeed confirms her worries about Srebrenica veterans with post-traumatic stress syndrome.
207. *'Interview Edwin Giltay, 19 september 2015 @ 16:00'* ('Interview Edwin Giltay, 19 September 2015 @ 4 PM'), book newspaper *Boekenkrant*.
    URL: web.archive.org/web/20220609064503/https://boekenkrant.com/evenement/interview-edwin-giltay/

208. E-mail from R.F. Thunnissen of STV Mahieu Lawyers, addressed to Coen Borgman and Edwin Giltay, 7 October 2015. Subject: '[Monica]/Giltay'. Reference: 11153032 RTH/SBE.
209. E-mail to Matthijs Kaaks of Boekx Lawyers, 7 October 2015. Subject: 'Fwd: [Monica]/Giltay'.
210. E-mail to Coen Borgman, 20 October 2015. Subject: 'Fwd: [Monica]/Giltay'.
211. Summary summons of the appellant Monica with attorney R.F. Thunnissen of STV Mahieu Lawyers and Mediators, with defendant Edwin Giltay. A copy was also attached as an appendix with document name DOC001.PDF and subject 're: [Monica]/Giltay', to an e-mail sent to lawyer Matthijs Kaaks of Boekx Lawyers on 14 October 2015. The letter was also delivered by a bailiff at Kaaks' office on 20 October 2015.
212. Letter to Minister of Defence, 10 March 2014.
213. E-mail from Derk Zwaan, 15 October 2015. Subject: *'Re: "De doofpotgeneraal moet in de doofpot"'* ('Re: "The Cover-up General should be covered up"').
214. E-mail from Colonel Charlef Brantz, 17 October 2015. Subject: 'Fwd: [Monica]/Giltay'.
215. E-mail from Harry van Bommel, 26 October 2015. Subject: *'re: Angst voor bloedige afrekeningen door Srebrenica-veteranen'* ('re: Fear of bloody killings by Srebrenica veterans').
216. Ibid.
217. Conversation notes of deliberation *'zaak [Monica]/giltay'* ('case [Monica]/giltay') at the offices of Boekx Lawyers, Amsterdam, 2 November 2015.
218. Ibid.
219. Letter from J.G.J. van Groenendaal of Boekx Lawyers to Monica, 11 November 2015. Sent to R.F. Thunnissen of STV Mahieu. Subject: 'Giltay / [Monica] 20150124'. Boekx reference: 20150124/JG/JG. STV Mahieu reference: 11153032 RTH/SBE.
220. Ibid.
221. E-mail from S. van den Berg on behalf of R.F. Thunnissen, addressed to Jurian van Groenendaal of Boekx Lawyers, 13 November 2015. Subject: '[Monica]/Giltay'. STV Mahieu reference: '[Monica]/Giltay, 11153032 RTH/SBE'. Boekx reference: 20150124.
222. Letter from Permanent Secretary Barth, 2 March 1999.
223. Plea notes regarding: the defendant Mr Edwin Giltay, assisted by lawyer J.G.J. van Groenendaal; against the claimant Ms [Monica], assisted by lawyer R.F. Thunnissen. Hearing held on 27 November 2015 at 12.00 PM at the District Court of The Hague with Judge M.E. Groeneveld-Stubbe.

Case number: C/09/497903/KG ZA 15-1556.

224. PDF copy of LinkedIn profile of Monica, accessed 8 October 2015.
225. E-mail from Jurian van Groenendaal of Boekx, 14 December 2015. Subject: *'Vonnis'* ('Verdict'). The e-mail contains as attachment a PDF copy of a fax containing the verdict.
226. PDF copy of a fax message regarding: Verdict of the District Court of The Hague, Commerce Team, Interim Injunction Judge. Case/role number: C/09/497903/KG ZA 15/1556. Verdict in preliminary relief proceedings of 14 December 2015 in the case of Monica, plaintiff, with lawyer R.F. Thunissen [sic] in The Hague, against: Edwin Giltay, defendant, with lawyer J.G.J. van Groenendaal in Amsterdam.
227. Agenda note titled *'Tekst advocaat'* ('Text lawyer'), 21 December 2015.
228. Bel, van der, *et al.*, Handbook *Informatie en opsporing*, chapter 11.5.2.3.
229. See the lawyers' register at the time.
230. The verdict was published as document type 'Jurisprudence' after nationwide publicity. Note: The website mistakenly gave the date of the verdict as 11 December 2015, when in fact it was 14 December.
    URL: deeplink.rechtspraak.nl/uitspraak?id=ECLI:NL:RBDHA:2015:15050
231. PDF copy of LinkedIn profile of Mark, accessed on 20 March 2015.

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232. E-mail from S. van den Berg on behalf of R.F. Thunnissen, addressed to Jurian van Groenendaal of Boekx, 17 December 2015.Subject: '[Monica]/Giltay'. Boekx reference: 20150124. STV Mahieu reference: '[Monica]/Giltay 11153032 RTH/SBE'.
233. Schoonhoven, Silvan. *'Verbod op boek over spionnen'* ('Ban on book about spies'), daily *Leidsch Dagblad*, 19 December 2015, page 5. Also published in other regional newspapers.
    URL: issuu.com/twipe-hdc/docs/de_gooi-_en_eemlander_-_editie_eeml
234. *'Srebrenica-boek De Doofpotgeneraal alsnog verboden'* ('Srebrenica book The Cover-up General banned after all'), public news broadcaster *NOS.nl*, 21 December 2015. Also a news item on *NOS Radio news*.
    URL: nos.nl/artikel/2076565-srebrenica-boek-de-doofpotgeneraal-alsnog-verboden
235. Reedijk, S. *'Srebrenica-boek verboden'* ('Srebrenica book banned'), TV broadcaster *PowNed*, 21 December 2015.
236. Among other news articles: Pasveer, Lars. *'Verbod op boek over verdwenen Sebrenica-fotorolletje'* [sic] ('Ban on book about lost Srebrenica photo roll'), *Villamedia* magazine, 21 December 2015.
    URL: villamedia.nl/artikel/verbod-op-boek-over-verdwenen-sbrenica-fotorolletje

237. Husejnović, Alosman. *'Autor najavio sudsku tužbu: Holandski sud zabranio knjigu o Srebrenici!'* ('Author announces appeal: Dutch court bans book on Srebrenica!'), Bosnian daily *Dnevni avaz*, 24 December 2015.
URL: avaz.ba/globus/dijaspora/211372/holandski-sud-zabranio-knjigu-o-srebrenici

238. Kremenovič, Mladen. *'Суд у Хагу забранио књигу о Сребреници'* ('The Hague court bans Srebrenica book'), Serbian daily *Politika*, 24 December 2015.
URL: www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/346012/Sud-u-Hagu-zabranio-knjigu-o-Srebrenici

239. *'Holandski sud donio odluku koja je ŠOKIRALA Bosnu i Hercegovinu a pogotovo SREBRENICU'* ('Dutch court verdict SHOCKS Bosnia and Herzegovina and especially SREBRENICA'), *Insajder*, 24 December 2015.

240. *'Marihunana je dozvoljena, ali ne i knjiga o Srebrenici'* ('Marijuana is allowed there, but a book about Srebrenica is not'), Serbian daily *Vesti*, 24 December 2015.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20220519150602/https://arhiva.vesti-online.com/Vesti/Svet/541549/Marihunana-je-dozvoljena-ali-ne-i-knjiga-o-Srebrenici

241. *'Судот во Хаг ја забрани книгата за улогата на холандската војска во Сребреница'* ('The Hague court bans book on role of Dutch army in Srebrenica'), Macedonian channel *Nova TV*, 25 December 2015.
URL: novatv.mk/sudot-vo-hag-ja-zabrani-knigata-za-ulogata-na-holandskata-vojska-vo-srebrenica/

242. E-mail from Žana Božinovska, 25 December 2015. Subject: 'Request from Macedonian media'.

243. Božinovska, Žana. *'21 век, Европска Унија, Автор Едвин Гилтај: Холандскиот суд забранил книга за Сребреница по барање на бивша шпионка'* ('21st century, European Union, Author Edwin Giltay: Dutch court bans book on Srebrenica at request of ex-spy'), Macedonian daily *Dnevnik*, 28 December 2015, pages 1–3. Note: During the book launch in November 2014, John Melskens photographed me handing Brenno de Winter the first copy of *The Cover-up General*. *Dnevnik* published this press photo on its front page.
URL's: web.archive.org/web/20170211202006/http://dnevnik.mk/default.asp?itemID=5E7A699DA152D140A240EA5572ABD5A4&arc=1 and thecoverupgeneral.com

244. Husejnović, Alosman. *'Vojni analitičar i stručnjak za terorizam: Casper ten Dam: Nakon zabrane knjige o Srebrenici pravdu ćemo tražiti do Evropskog suda!'* ('Military analyst and terrorism expert Casper ten Dam: After the Srebrenica book ban, we will seek justice at the European Court!'), Bosnian daily *Dnevni avaz*, 4 January 2016.

URL: avaz.ba/vijesti/bih/212758/casper-ten-dam-nakon-zabrane-knjige-o-srebrenici-pravdu-cemo-traziti-do-evropskog-suda

245. Oosterhoff, Mayoni. *'Mijn boek wordt nu juist méér gelezen'* ('My book is actually being read more now'), interview with the author in *Nieuwe Revu*, 13 January 2016, pages 16–17. The portrait photo is not of Ruud Baan as stated, but of Roberto Dresia.

CHAPTER 18

246. Served urgent appeal summons dated 8 January 2016 by Edwin Giltay, assisted by J.G.J. van Groenendaal. Subpoenaed on appeal is Monica, assisted by R.F. Thunnissen.
247. The following news articles had been attached: Kremenovič. *Politika*, 24 December 2015. | Božinovska. *Dnevnik*, 28 December 2015. | Husejnović. *Dnevni avaz*, 4 January 2016.
248. Oosterhoff. *Nieuwe Revu*, 13 January 2016.
249. E-mail from S. van den Berg on behalf of R.F. Thunnissen addressed to Jurian van Groenendaal of Boekx, 19 January 2016. Subject: '[Monica]/Giltay'. STV Mahieu reference: '[Monica]/Giltay, 11153032 RTH/SBE'. Boekx reference: 20150124.
250. E-mail from Jurian van Groenendaal, 21 January 2016. Subject: 'fw: [Monica]/Giltay'.
251. Response memorandum regarding Monica, assisted by lawyer R.F. Thunnissen. Against Edwin Giltay, appellant, assisted by lawyer J.G.J. van Groenendaal. Session 2 February 2016. Roll number 200183987.
252. Letter to Monica from the head of the Military Intelligence Service H.J. Vandeweijer on behalf of the Deputy Minister of Defence, The Hague, 3 November 1998. Subject: *'eervol ontslag'* ('honourable discharge'). Reference: 980230/0749.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/ontslag.jpg
253. Interview with Fred Spijkers, *'Spijkers versus Defensie'* ('Spijkers versus the MoD'), TV news programme *Nova*, 18 October 2005.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20240329102546/https://archief.ntr.nl/nova/page/detail/uitzendingen/3798/Spijkers%20versus%20Defensie.html
254. E-mail from Jay Achterberg, 30 December 2015. Subject: *'eerste indruk Re: teleurstellend'* ('First impression Re: disappointing').
255. E-mail to Jurian van Groenendaal, 7 February 2016. Subject: *'Over de memorie van antwoord'* ('About the response memorandum').
256. Report by the MID Chief of Staff, 12 February 1999.
257. Statements by Jasper dated 26 May and 10 June 1999, regarding Monica's disclosures about the author.
258. Letter from J.A. Hennis, 21 April 2015.

259. The following newspapers wrote about it: Žana Božinovska. *'Холанѓскиот Автор Едвин Гилтај Се Бори Против Цензурата На Книгата За Сребреница: На суд ќе се брани и со текст објавен во "Дневни"'* ('Dutch author Edwin Giltay challenges censorship of Srebrenica book: Legal defence with article published in "Dnevnik"'), Macedonian daily *Dnevnik*, 15 February 2016. | Alosman Husejnović. *'Suđenje "Zabranjenoj Knjizi" U Haagu: Skrivena fascikla o Srebrenici mora biti otvorena i dostupna javnosti'* ('The "banned book" trial in The Hague: The hidden dossier on Srebrenica must be publicly available'), Bosnian daily *Dnevni avaz*, 25 February 2016.
URL's: web.archive.org/web/20170212020754/dnevnik.mk/?ItemID=791715F298C1054AAFDEB60703D0EC38 and avaz.ba/vijesti/221845/.sudenje-zabranjenoj-knjizi-u-haagu-skrivena-fascikla-o-srebrenici-mora-biti-otvorena-i-dostupna-javnosti

260. E-mail from Jay Achterberg, 17 February 2016. Subject: *'eerste indruk Re: teleurstellend'* ('First impression Re: disappointing').

261. E-mail from office manager Sassa Garcia of Boekx Lawyers, 17 February 2016. Subject: *'Giltay / [Monica] (hoger beroep)'* ('Giltay / [Monica] (appeal)'). Attached is a certificate of deposit from the Court of Appeal of The Hague dated 4 February 2016 regarding the book copy submitted by R.F. Thunnissen, as well as the CVs of the judges at the hearing.

262. Ibid.

263. Live interview with author Giltay on his appeal, *NOS News Radio 1*, 25 February 2016, at 9.26 AM.

264. Notes for plea on 25 February 2016 at 9.30 AM. Case number 220.183.987/01. In the matter of Edwin Giltay, appellant, represented by J.G.J. van Groenendaal. Opponent: Monica, represented by R.F. Thunnissen.

265. In a footnote, these plea notes refer to verdict ECLI:NL:RBAMS:2013:CA3484 of the Amsterdam District Court, 1 May 2013.
URL: deeplink.rechtspraak.nl/uitspraak?id=ECLI:NL:RBAMS:2013:CA3484

266. Plea of R.F. Thunnissen concerning Monica, the respondent. Against Edwin Giltay, appellant, represented by J.G.J. van Groenendaal.

267. Praag, René van. *'Rechter beslist over lot verboden boek: auteur wil publicatie over oud-medewerker Militaire Inlichtingendienst en fotorolletje Srebrenica heruitgeven'* ('Judge decides on fate of banned book: author wants publication on former military intelligence officer and Srebrenica photo roll republished'), *ThePostOnline*, 11 April 2016. With three video articles.
URL: web.archive.org/web/20160420153457/tptv.nl/2016/04/11/rechter-beslist-over-lot-verboden-boek/

268. Ibid.

269. Ibid.
270. Ibid.

CHAPTER 19

271. E-mail from Jurian van Groenendaal of the Van Kaam Law Firm, 12 April 2016. Subject: *'Fwd: Uitspraak d.d. 12-04-2016 inzake E.F. Giltay tegen [Monica]'* ('Fwd: Ruling dated 12 April 2016 regarding E.F. Giltay versus [Monica]').
272. Verdict of the Court of Appeal in The Hague, Civil Division. Case number: 200.183.987/01. District Court case number: C/09/497903/KG ZA 15/1556. Verdict of 12 April 2016 in the case of Edwin Giltay, appellant, represented by J.G.J. van Groenendaal, Lawyer, in Amsterdam, against Monica, respondent, represented by R.F. Thunnissen, Lawyer, in The Hague.
URL: deeplink.rechtspraak.nl/uitspraak?id=ECLI:NL:GHDHA:2016:870

CHAPTER 20

273. Press release: Book ban overturned, Court of Appeal of The Hague, 12 April 2016.
274. *'Boek De Doofpotgeneraal mag toch verkocht worden'* ('Book The Cover-up General may be sold after all'), news portal *nu.nl*, 12 April 2016.
URL: nu.nl/cultuur-overig/4245574/boek-doofpotgeneraal-mag-toch-verkocht-worden.html
275. Pasveer, Lars. *'Verspreidingsverbod "De doofpotgeneraal" vernietigd'* ('Publication ban "The Cover-up General' overturned'"), *Villamedia* magazine, 12 April 2016.
URL: villamedia.nl/artikel/verspreidingsverbod-de-doofpotgeneraal-vernietigd
276. Husejnović, Alosman. *'Okončano suđenje knjizi "De doofpotgeneraal": Holandski sud ukinuo zabranu knjige o Srebrenici'* ('Trial "The Cover-up General" ends: Dutch court lifts ban on Srebrenica book'), Bosnian daily *Dnevni avaz*, 12 April 2016.
URL: avaz.ba/vijesti/svijet/230251/den-haag-holandski-sud-ukinuo-zabranu-knjige-o-srebrenici
277. E-mail from Harry van Bommel, 12 April 2016. Subject: *'Re: Hof schiet boekverbod af'* ('Re: Court overturns book ban').
278. Forwarded e-mail from Jan Pronk, 18 April 2016. Subject: 'fwd – update: pronk'.
279. E-mail from Bert Bakker, 12 April 2016. Subject: *'Re: Hof schiet boekverbod af'* ('Re: Court overturns book ban').
280. *'Verboden boek naar uitgeverij de Blauwe Tijger'* ('Banned book to publisher Blue Tiger'), geopolitical magazine *Novini*, 3 May 2016.

URL: deblauwetijger.com/persbericht-verboden-boek-naar-uitgeverij-de-blauwe-tijger/

281. Contract between Tom Zwitser, the legal representative of Foundation *De Blauwe Tijger* ('Blue Tiger Media'), with Edwin Giltay, author of *De doofpotgeneraal* ('The Cover-up General'). Signed at Café-Restaurant Scheltema in Amsterdam on 29 April 2016.
282. E-mail from Marco Gerritsen, 24 February 2016. Subject: *'re: Productie 42 betreffende boek De doofpotgeneraal'* ('re: Exhibit 42 regarding book The Cover-up General').
283. E-mail from Caspar ten Dam, 11 January 2016. Subject: *'Re: Mag ik je quoten?'* ('Re: Can I quote you?').
284. Note from the AIVD, dated 14 April 2016 at 10.10 AM. Includes an attachment with a PDF copy of the Court of Appeal decision.
285. See PDF file: 'Selection of Global Publicity' on the book website.
URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/Global%20publicity%20(ENG).pdf
286. See English interview: 'Edwin Giltay, Whistleblower, on the Bosnian war and a Dutch cover-up', *Banned Voices podcast*, 11 April 2021.
URL: bannedvoices.podbean.com/e/edwin-giltay-whistleblower-on-the-bosnian-war-and-a-dutch-cover-up/
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CHAPTER 21

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331. Letter from Director MIVD Major General O. Eichelsheim on behalf of the Minister of Defence, The Hague, 24 October 2017. Subject: *'Uw brief'* ('Your letter'). Reference: DIS2017019472.
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334. Letters to all 150 Members of the House of Representatives, The Hague, 1 June 2017. Subject: *'Srebrenica-doofpotaffaire'* ('Srebrenica cover-up'). The letters included a flyer from *The Cover-up General* and were delivered in person to the Parliamentary mailroom.
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Defence Committee, The Hague, 18 September 2017. Subject: *'Verzoek om opheldering over Srebrenica-doofpotaffaire'* ('Request for clarification on Srebrenica cover-up affair'). Reference: 2017Z09359/2017D25719. See also: Katica, Nihad. *'Autor zabranjivane knjige za 'Avaz': Holandija duguje žrtvama Srebrenice!'* ('Author of banned book says to 'Avaz': The Netherlands owes it to the victims of Srebrenica'), Bosnian daily *Dnevni avaz*, 18 September 2017.

URL's: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/commissie.pdf

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CHAPTER 22

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398. Telephone conversation on 17 February 2105 with Willemijn Boss, personal assistant to Bram van Ojik, who gave permission to use a sentence from his e-mail of 12 February with the subject: *'FW: Reactie De Doofpotgeneraal'* ('FWD: Response The Cover-up General').
399. E-mail from Roel van Duijn, 8 May 2015. Subject: *'Re: Diepvriesfiguur'*

('Re: Deep freeze figure').

400. Tweet from Willem Middelkoop [@wmiddelkoop]: *'Werkelijkheid blijkt weer meer bizar dan grootste complottheorie. …'* ('Reality turns out again more bizarre than greatest conspiracy theory. …'), 23 October 2016.
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413. Interview of Metje Blaak with Edwin Giltay about *The Cover-up General*, *Salto TV*, broadcast in January 2015.
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414. Tweet from Lenneke Sprik [@LennekeSprik]: *'Ik lees met ingehouden adem 'De doofpotgeneraal'. Het lijkt wel fictie, zo bizar spannend en zorgwekkend tegelijkertijd'* ('I am reading 'The Cover-up General' anxiously. It's like fiction, so bizarrely suspenseful and disturbing at the same time'), 26 December 2014.
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416. Quote dictated by Jolies Heij during personal conversation in Aachen, Germany, 5 August 2023.
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Illustrations

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- Passport photo Edwin Giltay, 1998. Source: private photo. Sepia rendered.
  URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/pasfoto.jpg

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- Sketched map of Ina's and Monica's deployment. Blank map of the Netherlands by Silver Spoon used as background. Cropped.
  URL: wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:Blank_map_of_the_Netherlands.svg

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- Former Casema headquarters in Delft. Source: Google Street View, 3D image derived from website on 20 September 2023. Partially desaturated.
  URL: maps.app.goo.gl/wsXARZ5FydeMoocB7

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- Photo of Frans Erkelens Jr. in navy uniform, 1950s. Source: private family archive. Cropped and sepia rendered.
  URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/matroos.jpg

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- Après midi ('Afternoon'), by Frans Erkelens Jr., oil painting on canvas, 1998. One of the paintings Jasper and I posed for. Source: private family archive.
  URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/apresmidi.jpg

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- Two-page MID report, 12 January 1999. The names of 'Monica' and 'Jasper' as well as the signature of Major De Ruyter redacted.
  URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/chef-staf-mid.pdf

- Testimonial Randstad Callflex, 20 May 1999. The consultant's name and his signature redacted.
  URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/bijlage6.jpg
- Testimonial Casema, 8 June 1999. Signature redacted.
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  URL: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/doc/koningin.jpg

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- Organigram showing the positions held in July 1998 by the main characters in this book. This is a simplified organisational chart; for example, some Telesales staff who worked mainly during the day, are not included.
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  URL: maps.app.goo.gl/91x2HNABmk57Nhcv6
- Military insignia of Commodore Jo Vandeweijer. Source: JrPol, licensed under CC BY–SA 3.0.
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- Photo of Minister Frank de Grave, 13 April 2001. Source: Royal Netherlands Navy. Cropped and partially desaturated.
  URL: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Korpscommandant_Klop_en_de_minister_van_Defensie_Frank_de_Grave_nemen_op_de_Coolsingel_in_Roterdam_het_d%C3%A9file_af_van_(oud)_mariniers_vanwege_de_335ste_verjaardag_van_het_Korps_Mariniers.jpg

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- State portrait H.M. Queen Beatrix, by Frans Erkelens Jr., oil painting on canvas, early 1990s. The painting hung in my apartment from 1999 to 2001. Source: private family archive.
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  URL: deeplink.rechtspraak.nl/uitspraak?id=ECLI:NL:RBDHA:2015:15050

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- Front page Macedonian daily *Dnevnik*, 28 December 2015. Partially desaturated.
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  URL: bol.com/nl/nl/p/srebrenica-de-schuldigen/9300000005322337/
- Video still from the deliberations of the Defence Committee of the House of Representatives on 14 September 2017. Source: early evening

broadcast of news programme *Hart van Nederland*, 14 September 2017, broadcaster SBS6. Cropped and partially desaturated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

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The tell-all blowing the cover of spies and revealing a sinister plot to obscure the Dutch failure in Srebrenica

Нехудожественный триллер, в котором разоблачаются шпионы и раскрывается зловещая операция, призванная скрыть провал голландцев в Сребренице

Ein enthüllender Tatsachenthriller, der Spione entlarvt und eine finstere Intrige zur Vertuschung des niederländischen Versagens in Srebrenica aufdeckt

De non-fictiethriller die spionnen ontmaskert en een sinistere operatie blootlegt die Nederlands falen in Srebrenica moest verdoezelen

Knjiga raskrinkavajući špijune i otkrivajući zlokobnu zavjeru da se prikrije holandski neuspjeh u Srebrenici

ENGLISH SYNOPSIS

The Cover-up General

While working at a helpdesk of cable operator Casema (Delft, The Netherlands), I could not imagine getting entangled in an espionage scandal. Military Intelligence fighting an internal power struggle at a private company? Such was furthest from my mind. But that was exactly what happened. Only later I realised what was behind it all. I wrote down my experiences in non-fiction thriller The Cover-up General.

From 8 June 1998, I am working through a job agency at Casema, servicing internet clients. My ambition, however, is to serve my country. When I apply for a job as marine officer, military psychologists compliment me on my broad work and life experience but reject me as my character is assessed as 'too strong to be broken.'

In early July, two temporary employees from a rival job agency enter the department at Casema. Both are linked to the Dutch Armed Forces:

Monica (34) reveals to everyone that besides her temporary job, she works for Dutch military secret service MID. Complaining openly about the MID, she is especially critical of the suppression of a notorious photographic film, which captures the failure of our army's peacekeeping forces in the Bosnian town Srebrenica, in 1995. Monica urges me to follow this scandal. According to her, some people in the military are determined to prevent the photos from being published. Yet, she and her boss – a brave Marine colonel – are opposing this cover-up, an admirable stance.

Ina (middle-aged) is more aloof. After a slip of the tongue about her husband, it terrifies her when I inquire after his name and military job. Ina keeps quiet. Yet chatting one day with Monica about the love of her life, she calls him 'My Ad.' Also, I overhear Ina answer the phone once, saying 'Van Baal' instead of her maiden name – she then apologises profusely.

On 8 July, my supervisor tells me her staff card is missing. She finds it hard to believe but suspects the card was stolen by Ina.

A few days later, when Monica is not around, her unusual job is brought up. In jest, I remark: 'She is a spy!' Although solely intended as a joke, about Monica, Ina freezes as if she is the one being unmasked. Distrusting Ina, I decide to sneak up on her one moment, while she is at her desk. Peering over

her shoulder, I see Ina writing notes about Monica's remarks on the Srebrenica photo roll. I am totally perplexed.

Discussing our careers at our first joint break on 14 July, Monica offers me a job at the MID as an analyst. I would be tasked with writing reports for deploying our Armed Forces. Monica is certain I would be quite skilled at describing various conflicts.

The next day, Monica and I are startled by camera flashes. Ina just left for the toilet when an intruder takes photos of us sitting at our desks. The spy then flees in a car driven by a henchman. Everyone is shocked – the police are called in. The intruder must have used a staff card as he entered our building without activating the alarm. But why? No company secrets are kept on our floor. And why is the number plate of the escape car not registered anywhere?

I finish my temporary job – Monica and Ina's job agency is cheaper – and start dating Jasper (21), a former colleague. He informs me that, while at Casema, Monica cries over the dismissal of her intelligence superior by the Head of the MID and that she will leave the military as well.

Concerned about the intrigues, I write to the National Ombudsman who in turn asks the Minister of Defence for clarification on what happened. Subsequently, an MID report is released in which Monica confirms instructing me to join the MID, but she also claims I am 'completely insane' and that I was fired at Casema for 'misbehaviour.' One wonders *who* is insane here. Fact is both my job agency and Casema send me recommendations regarding my tenure.

Meanwhile, through a mutual friend, a high-ranking official within the Dutch domestic secret service BVD explains the intrigues:

While applying for a job at the Marines, my background was checked, and my past as a male escort surfaced. The psychologists had to reject me because of this and find a legal way out. Hence the surreal excuse for rejecting me. Nevertheless, my work and life experience was regarded as useful by intelligence circles. Following the BVD, which had asked me in 1992 to please diplomats nocturnally, now the MID found it expedient to approach me.

Next, Monica was deployed at Casema to recruit me. This was, however, primarily a ruse to entrap her, as it would have been easier to just call me. Ina was hired to infiltrate as well to observe Monica, as grave doubts had arisen concerning the latter's performance as an undercover agent.

As for Ina, she had no experience as a spy at all. Still, she was assigned to this job by her high-ranking army husband in charge of the set-up. Ina quickly compromised herself by stealing the access card for the break-in and writing notes about Monica's violations of state secrets. Regardless, the family operation succeeded, Ina's notes and the intruder's photos proving Monica's controversial infiltration were used to pressure Monica and her superior to

leave the MID. The internal opposition against the Srebrenica cover-up was neutralised, with Monica guessing I betrayed her.

In June 1999, I report to the Chief Public Prosecutor the false MID report, as issued by the Minister of Defence. The Head of the MID and his deputy are dismissed by the Minister just two weeks later. Nonetheless, the National Ombudsman publishes the ministerial libel in his online assessment of the case, without ever having checked it. He ignores the evidence I provided, making it appear no intrigues took place.

Other disruption measures are also executed to silence me: earlier, Monica had ordered Jasper to stop seeing me – he wrote testimonies to that effect, embarrassing the MID. An example of a more alarming ploy concerns an invitation to visit Paris. The BVD official warns me that in order to put me behind bars, French military secret service DGSE is plotting against me, at the behest of the MID. The plan is to frame me for drug trafficking on the international train. None of this is looked into properly, not even after an intervention from Her Majesty Queen Beatrix at my request. The national interest prevails over yours, explains my BVD contact.

As army top brass continues to deceive him, the Minister of Defence decides to leave office in April 2002. Next, the entire Dutch government resigns over the Srebrenica genocide. The Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Netherlands Army, General Ad van Baal, also steps down. Nicknamed 'The Cover-up

The Srebrenica genocide and the notorious film roll

During the Bosnian War (1992–95) the United Nations declared the town of Srebrenica a safe area for Bosniaks (Muslims). To a Dutch army battalion fell the role of safe-keeping the enclave. Nevertheless, the town was captured by Serbian troops. The Dutch offered hardly any resistance.

[x]Battle of Srebrenica

After the fall of Srebrenica, the Serbs deported all Bosniaks from the enclave and murdered more than eight thousand Muslim men and boys. The Dutch commanders-in-chief responsible for their protection were Generals Hans Couzy and Ad Van Baal. The notorious Srebrenica film depicts Serbian war crimes as well as Dutch soldiers helping with the deportation of the Bosniaks. These photos were later obscured by the Dutch military.

General,' he is depicted on the front page of a national daily. At his side is his loving wife; I recognise her frightened face – it is Ina.

Van Baal is quietly rehabilitated a year later, becoming the Armed Forces' Inspector General. Pondering what character makes a general, I challenge Van Baal in his new-found job. I request he solve this affair, which started with orders to steal my supervisor's staff card. And ended with silencing critics of the cover-up of photos, taken by his troops, which prove the impending Srebrenica genocide. In reply, Van Baal evades his responsibility – like he did in Srebrenica. He refers me to the Minister of Defence, to whom I send an advance copy of *The Cover-up General* in March 2014.

My conclusion: obscuring evidence of war crimes harms the international legal order and the rule of law of our country. The Armed Forces approached me to write intelligence reports and describe the conflicting parties involved. In the national interest, I hereby comply with this request – at your service!

In July 2015, the Mothers of Srebrenica put forward the book as one of many supporting testimonies in their billion-euro lawsuit against the Dutch State, to help back the notion that our army shares liability in the genocide of their husbands and sons, and obscured photos proving this.

A month later, Van Baal claims *The Cover-up General* is partly based on fantasy, without producing any evidence to substantiate his accusation. No proof whatsoever is brought forward either when Monica sues me for libel. Still, a judge – while admitting not having read it entirely – bans the book. And issues a gag order as well. I am prohibited to speak any longer on this state scandal and consequently, part of my own life, risking a fine of up to 100,000 euro.

Undeterred, I appeal the censorship verdict. With dozens of supporting documents, I win the case on all counts. The Court of Appeal of The Hague rules the accuracy of the book is not in doubt and affirms its importance for the public debate on Srebrenica. As extensive publicity is often a safeguard for whistle-blowers, it is also significant that this victory for press freedom is being reported worldwide.

September 2016, *The Cover-up General* is published again – this time with new chapters on my quest for truth and justice. A third updated edition is issued in April 2022 and an English translation in April 2024.

Note: for legal reasons, the fictitious name Monica is used here for the recruiter spy. As for my former lover, I have named him Jasper in order to protect him. See for more information about the book: thecoverupgeneral.com. The complete book is available for free at: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/book.pdf.

РУССКИЙ СИНОПСИС

Генерал сокрытия

Работая в службе технической поддержки кабельного оператора Casema (Делс, Нидерланды), я и представить себе не мог, что окажусь втянутым в шпионский скандал. Военная разведка, которая борется за власть в частной компании? О таком я даже подумать не мог. Однако именно так все и произошло. Только спустя некоторое время я понял, что за всем этим стоит. Я описал свои переживания в научно-популярном триллере „Генерал сокрытия*“.*

С 8 июня 1998 года я работаю через агентство по трудоустройству в Casema, оказывая поддержку клиентам онлайн. Однако моя цель – служить своей стране. Когда я подал заявку на работу в качестве морского офицера, военные психологи похвалили меня за богатый трудовой и жизненный опыт, однако отказали мне, поскольку сочли мой характер „слишком сильным, чтобы его можно было сломить“.

В начале июля в отдел Casema пришли два временных служащих из конкурирующего агентства по трудоустройству. Оба они имели отношение к голландским вооруженным силам:

Моника (34 года) раскрыла всем, что помимо временной работы она также работает в секретной военной службе Нидерландов (MID). Открыто жалуясь на MID, она особенно критиковала запрет печально известной фотопленки, на которой запечатлен провал миротворческих сил нашей армии в боснийском городе Сребреница в 1995 году. Моника настоятельно просила меня следить за этим инцидентом. По ее словам, некоторые люди в армии решительно настроены не допустить публикации снимков. Однако она и ее начальник – храбрый полковник морской пехоты – выступают против замалчивания, и такая их позиция достойна уважения.

Ина (средних лет) была более отстраненной. После того, как она проговорилась о своем муже, она встревожилась, когда я спросил, как его зовут и где он служит. Ина молчала. Однако, беседуя однажды с Моникой о любви всей ее жизни, она назвала его „мой Ад“. Кроме того, как-то раз я услышал, как Ина ответила на телефонный звонок, назвав вместо своей

девичьей фамилии „Ван Баал“, – после чего она сильно извинялась.

8 июля моя начальница сообщила мне, что ее карта сотрудника пропала. Ей было сложно в это поверить, однако она подозревала, что карту украла именно Ина.

Через несколько дней, когда Моники не было рядом, зашла речь о ее необычной работе. В шутку я сказал: „Она шпионка!“. Хотя это была всего лишь шутка в адрес Моники, Ина замерла, словно ее разоблачили. Испытывая недоверие к Ине, я решил подкрасться к ней в подходящий момент, когда она сидела за своим столом. Заглянув ей через плечо, я увидел, что Ина делает заметки о комментариях Моники к фотоснимкам из Сребреницы. Я был в полном недоумении.

Обсуждая наши работы на первом совместном отдыхе 14 июля, Моника предложила мне работу в MID в качестве аналитика. В мои обязанности входило бы написание отчетов для развертывания наших вооруженных сил. Моника была уверена, что я буду весьма компетентным в описании различных конфликтов.

На следующий день нас с Моникой застали врасплох вспышки фотоаппаратов. Только Ина вышла в туалет, как злоумышленник сфотографировал нас, сидящих за столами. Затем шпион скрылся на машине, за рулем которой сидел его приспешник. Все были в замешательстве, и мы немедленно вызвали полицию. Злоумышленник, по всей видимости, воспользовался карточкой сотрудника, поскольку он смог проникнуть в наше здание, не активировав сигнализацию. Но зачем? На нашем этаже не хранится секретная информация компании. И почему номерной знак скрывшейся машины нигде не зарегистрирован?

Я оставляю временную работу – в агентстве Моники и Ины дешевле – и завожу знакомство с Джаспером (21 год), бывшим коллегой. Он рассказал мне, что, работая в Casema, Моника жаловалась на увольнение её начальника разведки главой MID, и что она также собирается уйти из армии.

Будучи встревоженным этими интригами, я написал Национальному омбудсмену, который, в свою очередь, обратился к министру обороны за разъяснениями касательно произошедшего. Вскоре выходит отчет MID, в котором Моника подтверждает, что дала мне распоряжение поступить на службу в MID, однако утверждает, что я „окончательно спятил“ и что меня уволили из Casema за „плохое поведение“. Возникает вопрос, кто здесь на самом деле спятил. В действительности же, и агентство по трудоустройству, и Casema прислали мне рекомендательные письма касательно моего пребывания на должности. Тем временем один высокопоставленный чиновник из Голландской внутренней секретной службы bvD разъяснил эти интриги:

Когда я устраивался на работу в морскую пехоту, мою биографию проверили, и всплыло мое прошлое в сфере мужского эскорта. Психологам пришлось отказать мне по этой причине и найти правовой выход. Отсюда и столь странное обоснование отклонения моей заявки. Тем не менее мой трудовой и жизненный опыт был сочтен полезным для разведки. Вслед за BvD, которые в начале девяностых просили меня ублажать дипломатов по ночам, теперь уже MID сочла целесообразным обратиться ко мне.

Затем Моника отправилась в Casema, чтобы завербовать меня. Тем не менее это была лишь хитрая уловка, чтобы заманить ее в ловушку, ведь гораздо проще было бы просто позвонить мне. Ину тоже наняли для того, чтобы она внедрилась и наблюдала за Моникой, поскольку возникли серьезные сомнения относительно работы последней в качестве агента под прикрытием.

Что касается Ины, то у нее вообще не было опыта шпионской деятельности. Тем не менее ее назначил на эту работу ее высокопоставленный армейский муженек, отвечавший за обман. Ина быстро скомпрометировала себя, украв карту доступа с целью взлома и написав записки о разглашении Моникой государственной тайны. И тем не менее, семейная операция удалась. Записки Ины и фотографии злоумышленницы, подтверждающие спорное проникновение Моники, были использованы для давления на нее и ее начальника, чтобы заставить их покинуть MID. Внутренняя оппозиция против сокрытия событий в Сребренице была нейтрализована, а Моника догадалась, что я ее предал.

Геноцид в Сребренице и нашумевшая кинопленка

Во время Боснийской войны (1992–95 гг.) Организация Объединенных Наций объявила город Сребреница безопасной зоной для боснийцев (мусульман). На голландский армейский батальон была возложена обязанность по охране анклава. Тем не менее, город был захвачен сербскими войсками. Голландцы не оказали практически никакого сопротивления.

После падения Сребреницы сербы депортировали всех боснийцев из района и убили более восьми тысяч мусульманских мужчин и мальчиков. Голландскими главнокомандующими, отвечавшими за их защиту, были генералы Ханс Кузи и Ад Ван Баал. В нашумевшем фильме „Сребреница“ запечатлены военные преступления сербов, а также голландские солдаты, помогавшие в депортации боснийцев. В дальнейшем эти фотографии были сокрыты голландскими военными.

В июне 1999 года я доложил Генеральному прокурору о сфабрикованном отчете MID, опубликованном министром обороны. Всего через две недели министр уволил главу MID и его заместителя. Тем не своей менее, Национальный омбудсмен публикует министерскую клевету в онлайн-оценке дела, ни разу не проверив ее на достоверность. Он проигнорировал предоставленные мною доказательства, сделав вид, что никаких интриг и не было.

Чтобы заставить меня замолчать, применялись также другие меры воздействия: ранее Моника приказала Джасперу прекратить со мной встречаться – он написал соответствующие показания, поставив тем самым MID в неловкое положение. Еще более опасной уловкой было приглашение посетить Париж. Сотрудник bvD предупредил меня, что для того, чтобы посадить меня за решетку, французская военная секретная служба Dgse по приказу MID готовит мне подставу. План состоял в том, чтобы предъявить мне обвинение в перевозке наркотиков в международном поезде. Ничего из этого не рассматривалось должным образом, даже после вмешательства Ее Высочества королевы Беатрикс по моей просьбе. „Национальные интересы превалируют над вашими“, – объяснил мой знакомый из BvD.

Поскольку армейское командование продолжало обманывать его, министр обороны принял решение покинуть свой пост в апреле 2002 года. Затем все правительство Нидерландов уходит в отставку из-за геноцида в Сребренице. Главнокомандующий Королевской армии Нидерландов генерал Ад ван Баал также ушел в отставку. Получивший прозвище „Генерал Сокрытия“, он попал на первую полосу государственной газеты. Рядом с ним – его любящая жена; я сразу же узнал ее испуганное лицо – это была Ина.

Через год Ван Баал был по-тихому реабилитирован и стал генеральным инспектором вооруженных сил. Размышляя о том, какой характер должен быть у генерала, я бросил вызов Ван Баалу на его новой должности. Я попросил его раскрыть это дело, начавшееся с приказа украсть служебное удостоверение моего начальника. Закончилось это все тем, что он просто заглушил критику в отношении сокрытия фотографий его солдатами, что служит доказательством геноцида в Сребренице. В своём ответе Ван Баал уклонился от ответственности – так же, как он это сделал в Сребренице. Он отправил меня к министру обороны, которому я послал предварительный экземпляр книги *Генерал сокрытия* в марте 2014 года.

Мой вывод: замалчивание доказательств военных преступлений вредит международному правопорядку и верховенству закона в нашей стране. Вооруженные силы обратились ко мне с просьбой написать

доклады разведки и рассказать о конфликтующих сторонах. Я исполняю эту просьбу во имя национальных интересов – к вашим услугам!
В июле 2015 года „Матери Сребреницы“ представили эту книгу в качестве одного из многих сопутствующих доказательств в своем иске на миллиард евро против Нидерландов, чтобы подкрепить заявление о том, что наша армия разделяет ответственность за геноцид их мужей и сыновей и скрывает фотографии, доказывающие это.

Месяц спустя Ван Баал заявил, что *Генерал сокрытия* отчасти выдуман, не предоставив при этом никаких доказательств в подтверждение своих обвинений. Не было предъявлено никаких доказательств и тогда, когда Моника подала на меня в суд за клевету. Тем не менее судья, признав, что не прочитал книгу полностью, наложил на нее запрет, а также выдал постановление о запрете передачи информации. Впредь мне было запрещено говорить об этом государственном скандале и, как следствие, о части моей собственной жизни, рискуя получить штраф в сумме до 100 000 евро.

Не теряя надежды, я подал апелляцию касательно постановления о цензуре. Предоставив десятки подтверждающих документов, я выиграл дело по всем пунктам. Апелляционный суд Гааги постановил, что достоверность книги не вызывает никаких сомнений, и признал ее важную роль в общественной дискуссии о Сребренице. Поскольку широкая огласка часто является гарантией защиты для информаторов, очень важно, чтобы об этой победе в борьбе за свободу прессы узнали во всем мире.

В сентябре 2016 года *Генерал сокрытия* снова выходит в свет – на этот раз с новыми главами о поисках мною правды и справедливости. Третье, обновленное издание выйдет в апреле 2022 года, а перевод на английский язык – в апреле 2024 года.

Примечание: по юридическим соображениям для шпиона-вербовщика здесь используется вымышленное имя Моника. Что касается моего-бывшего любовника, то я дал ему имя Джаспер, чтобы защитить его.

DEUTSCHE SYNOPSIS

Der Cover-up-General

Ich konnte mir nicht vorstellen, während meiner Beschäftigung bei einem Helpdesk des niederländischen Kabelbetreibers Casema in einen Spionageskandal verwickelt zu werden. Der niederländische Militärgeheimdienst im internen Machtkampf innerhalb einer privaten Firma? Das war undenkbar. Aber genau das ist passiert. Erst später wurde mir klar, was hinter dem Ganzen steckte. Ich habe meine Erfahrungen im Sachbuch-Thriller Der Cover-up-General *niedergeschrieben.*

Seit dem 8. Juni 1998 arbeite ich über eine Arbeitsagentur bei Casema in Delft in der Betreuung von Internet-Kunden. Mein Ziel ist es jedoch, meinem Land zu dienen. Bei meiner Bewerbung auf eine Stelle als Marineoffizier beglückwünschen mich die Militärpsychologen zu meiner umfassenden Arbeits- und Lebenserfahrung, lehnen mich jedoch ab, da sie meinen Charakter als „zu stark, um gebrochen zu werden" bewerten.

Anfang Juli fangen zwei weitere Aushilfskräfte einer konkurrierenden Arbeitsagentur in meiner Abteilung bei Casema an. Beide stehen in direktem Zusammenhang mit dem Militär:

Monika (34) verrät allen, dass sie neben ihrer befristeten Arbeitsstelle für den niederländischen Militärgeheimdienst MID arbeitet. Sie beschwert sich offen über den MID und kritisiert besonders die Unterdrückung eines berüchtigten fotografischen Films, der das Versagen der niederländischen Friedenstruppen in der bosnischen Stadt Srebrenica im Jahr 1995 zeigt. Monika fordert mich auf, diesem Skandal zu folgen. Laut ihr sind einige Militärangehörige fest entschlossen, die Veröffentlichung der Fotos zu verhindern. Dennoch sind sie und ihr Vorgesetzter, ein unerschrockener Marineoberst, gegen diese Vertuschung — eine bewundernswerte Haltung.

Ina (mittleren Alters) ist etwas distanzierter. Nach einem Versprecher über ihren Ehemann reagiert sie ängstlich, wenn ich mich nach seinem Namen und Militärdienst erkundige. Ina schweigt. Doch eines Tages unterhält sie sich mit Monika über die Liebe ihres Lebens und nennt ihn „mein Ad". Außerdem höre ich, wie Ina einmal einen Anruf mit „Van Baal" anstelle ihres Mädchennamens entgegennimmt und sich dann ausgiebig entschuldigt.

Am 8. Juli teilt mir meine Vorgesetzte mit, dass ihre Mitarbeiterkarte abhandengekommen ist. Sie kann es kaum glauben, vermutet jedoch, dass Ina die Karte gestohlen hat.

Ein paar Tage später, als Monika nicht da ist, wird ihr ungewöhnlicher Job angesprochen. Im Scherz sage ich: „Sie ist eine Spionin!" Obwohl das nur als Witz über Monika gedacht ist, versteinert Ina, als wäre sie diejenige, die entlarvt wurde. Da ich Ina nun misstraue, beschließe ich, mich einmal an sie heranzuschleichen, während sie an ihrem Schreibtisch sitzt. Ich schaue über ihre Schulter und sehe, wie Ina sich Notizen über Monikas Bemerkungen über den Srebrenica-Film macht. Ich bin total verblüfft.

Während unserer ersten gemeinsamen Pause am 14. Juli spreche ich mit Monika über unsere Karrieren, und sie bietet mir eine Stelle als Analytiker beim MID an. Ich würde damit beauftragt, Berichte für Einsätze unserer Streitkräfte zu schreiben. Monika ist sich sicher, dass ich die verschiedenen Konflikte sehr gut beschreiben kann.

Am nächsten Tag werden Monika und ich von Blitzlichtern erschreckt. Ina ist gerade zur Toilette gegangen, als ein Eindringling Fotos von uns an unseren Schreibtischen macht. Der Spion flieht daraufhin in einem Auto, das von einem Komplizen gefahren wird. Alle sind schockiert — die Polizei wird gerufen. Da der Alarm nicht aktiviert wurde, muss der Eindringling beim Betreten unseres Gebäudes eine Mitarbeiterkarte verwendet haben. Aber warum? Auf unserer Etage werden keine Unternehmensgeheimnisse aufbewahrt. Und warum ist das Nummernschild des Fluchtwagens nirgendwo registriert?

Ich beende meine befristete Arbeitsstelle – Monikas und Inas Arbeitsagentur ist billiger – und beginne eine Beziehung mit Jasper (21), einem ehemaligen Kollegen. Er erzählt mir, dass Monika sich während ihrer Arbeit bei Casema über die Entlassung ihres Geheimdienstvorgesetzten durch den MID-Direktor weinend beklagt und das Militär verlassen wird.

Besorgt über die Intrigen schreibe ich an den niederländischen Bürgerbeauftragten, der seinerseits den Verteidigungsminister um Klärung der Ereignisse bittet. Anschließend wird ein MID-Bericht veröffentlicht, in dem Monika bestätigt, dass sie versucht hat, mich für den MID anzuwerben. Sie behauptet jedoch auch, dass ich „völlig verrückt" sei und wegen „Fehlverhaltens" bei Casema entlassen wurde. Man fragt sich nun, *wer* ist hier verrückt? Tatsache ist jedoch, dass sowohl meine Arbeitsagentur als auch Casema mir ein Empfehlungsschreiben hinsichtlich meiner Beschäftigungszeit ausstellt.

Unterdessen erklärt ein hochrangiger Beamter des niederländischen Geheimdienstes BVD die Intrigen durch einen gemeinsamen Freund:

Während ich mich bei der Marineinfanterie bewarb, wurde mein Hintergrund überprüft und meine Vergangenheit als Callboy aufgedeckt. Die Psychologen mussten mich aus diesem Grund ablehnen und einen legalen

Ausweg finden. Daher die surreale Rechtfertigung meiner Ablehnung. Trotzdem wurde meine Arbeits- und Lebenserfahrung vom Geheimdienst als nützlich erachtet. Nach dem BVD, der mich 1992 gebeten hatte, Diplomaten sexuell zu befriedigen, hielt es nun auch der MID für angebracht, mich anzusprechen.

Monika wurde daraufhin bei Casema eingesetzt, um mich anzuwerben. Dies war jedoch in erster Linie ein Trick, um sie selbst in die Falle zu locken; es wäre leichter gewesen, mich einfach anzurufen. Ina wurde eingeschleust und damit beauftragt, Monika zu beobachten, da Zweifel an deren Leistung als Geheimagentin aufgetreten waren.

Ina hatte überhaupt keine Erfahrung als Spionin. Ihr hochrangiger Armee-Ehemann, der für die Intrige verantwortlich war, beauftragte sie jedoch mit diesem Job. Mit dem Diebstahl der Zugangskarte für den Einbruch und ihren Notizen über Monikas Verrat von Staatsgeheimnissen stellte Ina sich jedoch sehr schnell bloß. Trotzdem war die Familienoperation erfolgreich. Inas Notizen und die Fotos des Eindringlings, die Monikas umstrittene Einschleusung belegten, wurden dazu verwendet, Monika und ihren Vorgesetzten zum Ausstieg aus dem MID zu zwingen. Die interne Opposition gegen die Vertuschung von Srebrenica wurde kaltgestellt, und Monika vermutete, dass ich sie betrogen hatte.

Im Juni 1999 zeige ich den vom Verteidigungsminister herausgegebenen falschen MID-Bericht beim Generalstaatsanwalt an. Der MID-Direktor und sein Stellvertreter werden nur zwei Wochen später vom Minister entlassen. Trotzdem veröffentlicht der nationale Bürgerbeauftragte die ministerielle Verleumdung in seiner Online-Bewertung des Falls, ohne sie jemals überprüft zu haben. Er ignoriert die von mir vorgelegten Beweise und lässt es so aussehen, als ob keine Intrigen stattgefunden hätten.

Der Genozid von Srebrenica und die berüchtigte Filmrolle

Während des Bosnienkrieges (1992–95) erklärten die Vereinten Nationen die Stadt Srebrenica zum sicheren Gebiet für Bosniaken (Muslime). Ein Bataillon der niederländischen Armee hatte die Aufgabe, die Enklave zu bewachen. Doch die Stadt wurde von serbischen Truppen eingenommen. Die Niederländer leisteten kaum Widerstand.

Nach dem Fall von Srebrenica deportierten die Serben alle Bosniaken aus der Enklave und ermordeten mehr als achttausend muslimische Männer und Jungen. Die niederländischen Oberbefehlshaber, die für ihren Schutz verantwortlich waren, sind die Generäle Hans Couzy und Ad Van Baal. Der berüchtigte Srebrenica-Film enthält sowohl Bilder von serbischen Kriegsverbrechen als auch von niederländischen Soldaten, die bei den Deportationen halfen. Diese Aufnahmen wurden später von der niederländischen Armee unterdrückt.

Abgesehen davon wird mit weiteren Störungsmaßnahmen versucht, mich zum Schweigen zu bringen: Monika hatte Jasper befohlen, mich nicht mehr zu sehen – Jasper verfasste diesbezüglich zwei Zeugenaussagen, die den MID in Verlegenheit brachten. Ein Beispiel für einen noch beunruhigenderen Trick ist eine Einladung nach Paris. Der BVD-Beamte warnt mich, dass der französische Militärgeheimdienst DGSE auf Geheiß des MID vorhat, mich hinter Gitter zu bringen. Man plant, mir während meiner Zugfahrt internationalen Drogenhandel anzuhängen.

Nichts davon wird richtig untersucht, auch nicht nachdem auf meine Bitte hin Ihre Majestät Königin Beatrix eingeschaltet wird. Mein BVD-Kontakt erklärt mir, dass das nationale Interesse vor meinem den Vorrang hat.

Da ihn die hohen Tiere der Armee weiterhin hintergehen, beschließt der Verteidigungsminister im April 2002 sein Amt niederzulegen. Als Nächstes tritt die gesamte Regierung wegen des Völkermords in Srebrenica zurück. Der Befehlshaber des königlich-niederländischen Heers, General Ad van Baal, räumt ebenfalls das Feld. Er erscheint auf der Titelseite einer nationalen Tageszeitung mit dem Spitznamen „Der Cover-up-General". An seiner Seite ist seine liebende Ehefrau mit einem mir bekannten verängstigten Gesicht: Es ist Ina.

Ein Jahr später wird Van Baal still rehabilitiert und zum Generalinspektor der niederländischen Streitkräfte ernannt. Da ich mich schon lange frage, welcher Charakter einen General ausmacht, fordere ich Van Baal in seinem neuen Job heraus: Er soll den Skandal aufklären, der mit dem Befehl zum Diebstahl der Mitarbeiterkarte meiner Vorgesetzten begann und mit der Mundtotmachung von Kritikern der Unterschlagung von Fotos endete. Fotos, die durch seine Truppen gemacht wurden und den bevorstehenden Völkermord von Srebrenica beweisen. Van Baal reagiert – wie damals in Srebrenica –, indem er sich seiner Verantwortung entzieht. Er verweist mich an den Verteidigungsminister, dessen späterer Nachfolgerin ich im März 2014 eine Vorabkopie von *Der Cover-up-General* schicke.

Mein Fazit: Die Unterschlagung von Beweisen für Kriegsverbrechen verletzt nicht nur die internationale Rechtsordnung, sondern auch die nationale Rechtsstaatlichkeit der Niederlande. Die Streitkräfte forderten mich auf, Geheimdienstberichte zur Beschreibung von Konfliktparteien zu schreiben. Zu Ihren Diensten: Ich erfülle hiermit diese Bitte im nationalen Interesse!

Im Juli 2015 unterbreiten die Mütter von Srebrenica das Buch als eine von vielen ihre Milliarden-Euro-Klage gegen den niederländischen Staat unterstützenden Zeugnisse, die die Auffassung belegen, dass die niederländische Armee eine Mitverantwortung am Völkermord ihrer Ehemänner und Söhne trägt und dies beweisende Fotos vertuscht hat.

Einen Monat später behauptet Van Baal, ohne Beweise für seine Anschuldigung vorzulegen, dass *Der Cover-up-General* teilweise auf Fantasie basiert. Es wird auch keinerlei Beweis erbracht, als Monika mich wegen Verleumdung verklagt. Dennoch verbietet eine Richterin das Buch, obwohl sie zugibt, es nicht vollständig gelesen zu haben, und erteilt mir ein Redeverbot. Es wird mir unter Androhung einer Geldstrafe von bis zu 100.000 Euro verboten, über diese Angelegenheit und damit auch einen Teil meines eigenen Lebens zu sprechen.

Unbeeindruckt gehe ich gegen dieses Urteil der Zensur in die Berufung. Mit Dutzenden von weiteren Unterlagen gewinne ich den Fall in allen Punkten. Das Berufungsgericht in Den Haag entscheidet, dass es keine Zweifel über die Richtigkeit des Buches gibt, und bekräftigt dessen Bedeutung für die öffentliche Debatte über Srebrenica. Da eine umfangreiche öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit oft einen Schutz für Informanten bedeutet, begrüße ich, dass jetzt über diesen Sieg für die Pressefreiheit weltweit berichtet wird.

Der Cover-up-General wird im September 2016 erneut veröffentlicht – diesmal mit neuen Kapiteln über mein Bestreben nach Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit. Eine dritte aktualisierte Auflage folgt im April 2022 und eine englische Ausgabe im April 2024.

Aus rechtlichen Gründen wird der fiktive Name Monika für die Rekrutierungsagentin verwendet, und zum Schutz meines früheren Liebhabers habe ich ihn hier Jasper genannt. Weitere Informationen: dercoverupgeneral.de.

NEDERLANDSE SYNOPSIS

De doofpotgeneraal

Aan het werk bij de helpdesk van kabelexploitant Casema kon ik me niet voorstellen dat ik verstrikt zou raken in een spionageschandaal. Een militaire geheime dienst die een interne machtsstrijd voert binnen een particulier bedrijf? — dat was ondenkbaar voor mij. Toch was dat precies wat er gebeurde. Pas later besefte ik wat er allemaal achter zat. Ik schreef mijn ervaringen op in non-fictiethriller De doofpotgeneraal.

Vanaf 8 juni 1998 werk ik via een uitzendbureau bij Casema in Delft, waar ik internetklanten van dienst ben. Mijn ambitie is echter om mijn land te dienen. Wanneer ik solliciteer naar de functie van aspirant-mariniersofficier, complimenteren militaire psychologen mij met mijn ruime werk- en levenservaring. Ze wijzen mij echter af aangezien mijn karakter wordt beoordeeld als 'te sterk om te worden gebroken'.

Begin juli komen twee uitzendkrachten van een concurrerend uitzendbureau op mijn afdeling werken. Beiden zijn gerelateerd aan de krijgsmacht:

Moniek (34) onthult aan iedereen dat ze naast haar tijdelijke baan werkt voor de Militaire Inlichtingendienst (MID). Ze klaagt openlijk over de MID en is vooral kritisch over het achterhouden van het beruchte fotorolletje van Srebrenica, dat in 1995 het falen van de vredestroepen van ons leger in beeld bracht. Moniek dringt er bij mij op aan dit schandaal te volgen. Volgens haar zijn sommige militairen vastbesloten publicatie van de foto's te voorkomen. Toch verzetten zij en haar baas – een onverschrokken marinierskolonel – zich tegen deze doofpotaffaire, een bewonderenswaardige houding.

Ina (middelbare leeftijd) is afstandelijker. Na een verspreking over haar man, schrikt ze als ik naar zijn naam en militaire functie vraag. Ina houdt zich stil. Als ze op een dag met Moniek over de liefde van haar leven praat, noemt ze hem echter 'mijn Ad'. Ook hoor ik Ina een keer de telefoon opnemen met 'Van Baal' in plaats van haar meisjesnaam, waarna ze zich uitvoerig verontschuldigt.

Op 8 juli vertelt mijn supervisor me dat ze haar personeelspas kwijt is. Ze vindt het moeilijk te geloven, maar vermoedt dat het pasje is gestolen door Ina.

Een paar dagen later, als Moniek er niet is, wordt haar ongewone baan ter sprake gebracht. Ik zeg schertsend: 'Zij is een spion!' Hoewel alleen bedoeld als grap, over Moniek, versteent Ina alsof zij degene is die wordt ontmaskerd. Vanwege mijn wantrouwen besluit ik hierop Ina op een gegeven moment te besluipen als ze aan haar bureau zit. Over haar schouder zie ik haar notities maken van Monieks opmerkingen over het filmrolletje van Srebrenica. Ik ben totaal verbijsterd.

Als Moniek en ik onze carrières bespreken tijdens onze eerste gezamenlijke pauze op 14 juli, biedt ze me een baan aan als analist bij de MID. Ik zou er worden aangesteld om rapporten op te stellen over de inzet van onze strijdkrachten. Moniek is er zeker van dat ik de verschillende conflictpartijen goed kan beschrijven.

De volgende dag worden Moniek en ik opgeschrikt door cameraflitsen. Ina vertrok net naar het toilet, als een indringer foto's van ons schiet terwijl we aan onze bureaus zitten. Daarna vlucht de spion in een auto bestuurd door een handlanger. Iedereen is geschokt – de politie wordt gebeld. De indringer moet een personeelspas hebben gebruikt, aangezien hij ons pand binnendrong zonder het alarm te activeren. Maar waarom? Er worden geen bedrijfsgeheimen op onze verdieping bewaard. En waarom had de vluchtauto een nummerbord dat nergens staat geregistreerd?

Ik beëindig mijn tijdelijke baan – Moniek en Ina's uitzendbureau is goedkoper – en begin te daten met Jasper (21), een oud-collega. Hij vertelt me dat Moniek tijdens het werk bij Casema huilend klaagt dat het hoofd van de MID haar inlichtingenbaas heeft ontslagen en ook zij Defensie zal verlaten.

Bezorgd over de intriges schrijf ik de nationale ombudsman aan, die op zijn beurt de minister van Defensie om opheldering vraagt over wat er is gebeurd. Vervolgens wordt een MID-rapport gepubliceerd waarin Moniek bevestigt dat ze heeft geprobeerd mij te rekruteren voor de MID. Hierin beweert ze echter tevens dat ik 'volledig gestoord' ben en bij Casema ben ontslagen wegens 'wangedrag'. De vraag rijst wié hier gestoord is. Feit is dat zowel mijn uitzendbureau als Casema mij een aanbevelingsbrief aangaande de uitzendbaan zenden.

Intussen legt een hooggeplaatste functionaris van de Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst (BVD), via een wederzijdse vriend, de intriges uit:

Bij het solliciteren naar een mariniersfunctie werd mijn achtergrond nagetrokken en kwam mijn verleden als mannelijke escort naar boven. De psychologen moesten me daarom afwimpelen en een legale uitweg vinden: vandaar de surrealistische afwijzing. Niettemin werd mijn werk- en levenservaring als nuttig beschouwd door de inlichtingensector. In navolging van de BVD, die mij in 1992 had gevraagd diplomaten seksueel te gerieven, achtte nu de MID het wenselijk mij te benaderen.

Moniek werd hierop bij Casema ingezet om mij te rekruteren. Dit was echter voornamelijk een list om haar in de val te lokken; het zou makkelijker zijn geweest om mij gewoon te bellen. Ina werd namelijk ingeschakeld om ter observatie van Moniek eveneens bij ons te infiltreren, zogezegd omdat er grote twijfels waren gerezen over Monieks functioneren als undercoveragent.

Wat Ina betreft, ze had geen enkele ervaring als spion. Niettemin werd ze voor deze klus aangesteld door haar hooggeplaatste man, die verantwoordelijk was voor het plot. Al snel compromitteerde Ina zich met het stelen van de toegangskaart voor de inbraak en het noteren van Monieks schendingen van staatsgeheimen. Maar toch slaagde de familieoperatie. Ina's aantekeningen en de foto's van de indringer, die Monieks omstreden infiltratie bewijzen, werden gebruikt om Moniek en haar baas onder druk te zetten om de MID te verlaten. Het interne verzet tegen de Srebrenica-doofpot werd onschadelijk gemaakt, terwijl Moniek vermoedde dat ík haar had verraden.

In juni 1999 schrijf ik de hoofdofficier van justitie aan over het valse MID-rapport, dat is uitgevaardigd door de minister van Defensie. Het hoofd MID en zijn plaatsvervanger worden twee weken later ontslagen door de minister. Desondanks publiceert de nationale ombudsman de ministeriële laster in zijn online beoordeling van de zaak, zonder deze ooit te hebben gecontroleerd. Hij negeert de door mij aangeleverde bewijzen en laat het lijken alsof er geen intriges hebben plaatsgevonden.

Daarnaast worden er ook andere verstoringsmaatregelen genomen om te proberen mij het zwijgen op te leggen: Eerder had Moniek Jasper bevolen mij niet meer te zien – hij schreef hierover getuigenissen die de MID in verlegenheid brachten. Een voorbeeld van een verontrustendere list betreft een uitnodiging om Parijs te bezoeken. De BVD-functionaris waarschuwt mij dat de Franse militaire geheime dienst DGSE voornemens is mij op verzoek van de MID achter de tralies te zetten. Het plan is mij te laten opdraaien voor internationale drugshandel tijdens mijn treinreis.

Niets van dit alles wordt nader onderzocht, ook niet na een interventie van Hare Majesteit koningin Beatrix op mijn verzoek. Het nationaal belang weegt zwaarder dan het jouwe, legt mijn BVD-contact uit.

Omdat de legertop hem blijft misleiden, besluit de minister van Defensie in april 2002 zijn functie neer te leggen. Vervolgens neemt de hele regering ontslag vanwege de genocide van Srebrenica. De bevelhebber der landstrijdkrachten generaal Ad van Baal treedt ook af. Hij staat afgebeeld op de voorpagina van het *Algemeen Dagblad* met de bijnaam 'De doofpotgeneraal'. Aan zijn zijde staat zijn liefhebbende vrouw; ik herken haar angstige gezicht – het is Ina.

Een jaar later wordt Van Baal stilletjes gerehabiliteerd en benoemd tot inspecteur-generaal der krijgsmacht. Omdat ik me al lang afvraag met welk

karakter je het tot generaal schopt, daag ik Van Baal uit in zijn nieuwe baan. Ik verzoek hem deze zaak op te lossen, die begon met het bevel om de personeelspas van mijn supervisor te stelen. En eindigde met het tot zwijgen brengen van critici van deze doofpotaffaire waarin foto's van zijn troepen de op handen zijnde genocide bewijzen. Van Baal reageert – net als in Srebrenica – door zijn verantwoordelijkheid te ontlopen. Hij verwijst mij naar de minister van Defensie, die ik in maart 2014 een voorpublicatie van *De doofpotgeneraal* aanbied.

Mijn conclusie: Het verduisteren van bewijzen van oorlogsmisdaden schaadt de internationale rechtsorde en de rechtsstaat van ons land. De krijgsmacht heeft mij indertijd benaderd om inlichtingenrapporten te schrijven waarin betrokken conflictpartijen worden beschreven. In het nationaal belang geef ik hierbij gevolg aan dit verzoek – tot uw dienst!

In juli 2015 brengen de Moeders van Srebrenica het boek in als een van vele getuigenissen in hun miljardenrechtszaak tegen de Nederlandse staat, om het standpunt te ondersteunen dat ons leger medeaansprakelijkheid draagt voor de genocide op hun echtgenoten en zonen, en foto's heeft verdoezeld die dit bewijzen.

Een maand later beweert Van Baal dat *De doofpotgeneraal* deels gebaseerd is op fantasie, zonder deze beschuldiging te onderbouwen. Ook wordt er geen enkel bewijs overlegd als Moniek mij aanklaagt wegens laster. Toch verbiedt een rechter het boek – hoewel ze toegeeft het niet geheel te hebben gelezen – en wordt mij een spreekverbod opgelegd. Het is mij verboden om nog langer te spreken over dit schandaal en dus een deel van mijn eigen leven, op straffe van een boete tot honderdduizend euro.

Onverschrokken ga ik in beroep tegen het censuurvonnis. Met tientallen

De genocide van Srebrenica en het beruchte fotorolletje

Tijdens de Bosnische Oorlog (1992–1995) verklaarden de Verenigde Naties de stad Srebrenica een veilig gebied voor moslims. Een Nederlands landmachtbataljon kreeg de taak deze enclave te beschermen. Niettemin werd de stad ingenomen door Servische troepen. De Nederlanders boden nauwelijks weerstand.

Na de val van Srebrenica deporteerden de Serviërs alle moslims uit de enclave en vermoorden ze meer dan achtduizend moslimmannen en -jongens. De Nederlandse bevelhebbers verantwoordelijk voor hun bescherming waren generaals Hans Couzy en Ad van Baal. Op het beruchte fotorolletje van Srebrenica staan foto's van Servische oorlogsmisdaden alsmede van Nederlandse soldaten die hielpen bij de deportatie. Dit rolletje werd verdonkeremaand door onze krijgsmacht.

bewijsstukken win ik de zaak op alle punten. Het Gerechtshof Den Haag oordeelt dat aan de nauwkeurigheid van het boek niet getwijfeld hoeft te worden en bevestigt het belang ervan voor het publieke debat over Srebrenica. Aangezien uitgebreide publiciteit vaak bescherming betekent voor klokkenluiders, juich ik het ook toe dat over deze overwinning voor de persvrijheid wereldwijd wordt bericht.

Het boek wordt in september 2016 opnieuw gepubliceerd – ditmaal met nieuwe hoofdstukken over mijn queeste voor waarheid en gerechtigheid. Een derde geactualiseerde druk volgt in april 2022 en een Engelse vertaling in april 2024.

Om juridische redenen wordt de fictieve naam Moniek hier gebruikt voor de rekruterende agent, terwijl ik mijn vroegere minnaar Jasper noem om hem te beschermen. Zie voor meer informatie over het boek: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl. De derde herziene druk van het boek is gratis beschikbaar op: dedoofpotgeneraal.nl/boek.pdf.

BOSANSKI SINOPSIS

General zataškavanja

Radeći u korisničkoj službi kablovskog operatera Casema (Delft, Holandija), nisam mogao ni sanjati da ću se uplesti u skandal sa špijunažom. Vojna obavještajna služba koja se bori za unutarnju vlast preko privatne kompanije? To mi nije bilo ni nakraj pameti. Ali to je tačno ono što se dogodilo. Tek kasnije sam shvatio šta se skrivalo iza svega toga. Opisao sam svoja iskustva u knjizi General zataškavanja *(eng.* The Cover-up General*), koja svjedoči o istinitim događajima.*

Od 8. juna 1998. godine radim u agenciji za zapošljavanje u Casemi na usluživanju internet klijenata. Moja ambicija je, ipak, da služim svojoj zemlji. Kada sam se prijavio za posao oficira u marincima, vojni psiholog me je pohvalio za moje bogato radno i životno iskustvo, ali me je odbio iz razloga što je moja ličnost ocijenjena kao 'previše snažna da bi se slomila'.

Početkom jula, dva zaposlenika na privremenom radu u konkurentnoj agenciji ulaze u odjel u Casemi. Oba su u vezi sa Holandskim oružanim snagama:

Monika (34) otkriva svima da osim svog privremenog posla radi i za Holandsku vojnu obavještajnu službu MID. Dok se otvoreno žalila na MID, bila je posebno kritična zbog zataškavanja ozloglašenog fotografskog filma, koji je zabilježio neuspjeh mirovnih snaga naše vojske u bosanskom gradu Srebrenici 1995. godine. Monika me potiče da pratim ovoj skandal. Prema njenim riječima, neki ljudi u vojsci su odlučni da spriječe objavljivanje fotografija. Ipak, ona i njezin šef – hrabri pukovnik marinaca – protive se ovom zataškavanju, stav vrijedan divljenja.

Ina (srednjih godina) je malo rezervisana. Nakon što je slučajno pomenula muža, prestrašilo ju je moje interesovanje za njegovo ime i vojnu poziciju. Ina ne govori. Ipak, razgovarajući jednog dana sa Monikom o ljubavi svog života, ona ga naziva 'moj Ad'. Također, slučajno sam čuo jednom Inino javljanje na telefon kada kaže 'Van Baal' umjesto svog djevojačkog prezimena – a potom kako se izdašno izvinjava.

Osmog jula moja šefica mi kaže da nedostaje njena iskaznica. Ona smatra da je teško u to povjerovati, ali da sumnja da je iskaznicu ukrala Ina.

Nekoliko dana kasnije, kada Monika nije bila tu, iskrsla je priča o njenom

neobičnom poslu. U šali komentarišem: 'Ona je špijun!' Iako je to rečeno u šali na Monikin račun, Ina je uplašena kao da je ona ta koja je razotkrivena. Počevši sumnjati u Inu, odlučujem da joj se prikradem u jednom trenutku, dok je bila za svojim stolom. Vireći preko njezinog ramena, vidim kako Ina piše bilješke o Monikinim komentarima na rolu filma o Srebrenici. Postajem potpuno zbunjen.

Dok razgovaramo o svojim karijerama na prvoj zajedničkoj pauzi 14. jula, Monika mi nudi posao analitičara u MID-u. Moj zadatak bi bio pisanje izvještaja o raspoređivanju naših Oružanih snaga. Monika je uvjerena da bih ja bio vješt u opisivanju različitih konflikata.

Slijedećeg dana Monika i ja smo zatečeni bljeskom kamere. Ina samo što je otišla u toalet kada je uljez počeo da nas fotografiše dok sjedimo za svojim stolovima. Špijun potom bježi u autu koji vozi njegov pomagač. Svi su u šoku – pozvana je policija. Uljez je sigurno koristio iskaznicu osoblja jer je ušao u zgradu bez aktiviranja alarma. Ali zašto? Na našem spratu se ne drže nikakve tajne naše firme. I zašto registarska tablica auta za bijeg nije nigdje registrovana?

Završavam sa privremenim poslom – Monikina i Inina agencija je jeftinija – i počinjem se viđati sa Jasperom (21), bivšim kolegom. On mi govori da Monika plače u Casemi zbog otpuštanja njenog nadređenog od strane direktora MID-a i da će i ona također napustiti vojsku.

Zabrinut zbog intriga, pišem državnom ombudsmanu koji zatim traži od ministra odbrane objašnjenje šta se dogodilo. Poslije toga izlazi izvještaj MID-a u kojem Monika potvrđuje da mi je savjetovala da se pridružim MID-u, ali također tvrdi da sam 'potpuno lud' i da sam otpušten iz Caseme zbog 'nedoličnog ponašanja'. Da se čovjek zapita ko je ovdje lud. Činjenica je da mi i moja agencija za zapošljavanje i Casema šalju preporuke u vezi sa mojim radom.

U međuvremenu, preko zajedničkog prijatelja, visokorangirani službenik holandske Nacionalne bezbjednosti BVD mi objašnjava intrige:

Kada sam se prijavljivao za posao u marincima, izvršena je moja provjera, i moja prošlost muškog eskorta je izašla na vidjelo. Psiholozi su me morali odbiti zbog toga, te pronaći legalan razlog za to. Zbog toga i sulud razlog moje odbijenice. Ipak, obavještajni krugovi su smatrali da je moje radno i životno iskustvo korisno. Nakon BVD-a, koji je od mene početkom devedesetih tražio da ugađam diplomatama u večernjim časovima, sada je MID smatrao svrsishodnim da mi se obrati.

Poslije toga, Monika je raspoređena u Casemu da me regrutuje. Ovo je, ipak, primarno bila varka da uhvate nju, jer je bilo mnogo lakše da me samo pozovu. Ina je bila unajmljena da se također infiltrira da posmatra Moniku, jer se pojavila ogromna sumnja u njen rad kao tajnog agenta.

Kada je Ina u pitanju, ona uopšte nije imala iskustva kao špijun. Uprkos tome, bila je raspoređena na ovaj zadatak od strane svog visokopozicioniranog supruga u vojsci koji je bio na čelu zadatka. Ina se brzo kompromitovala kada je ukrala iskaznicu za upad, kao i pisanjem bilješki o Monikinom izdavanju državnih tajni. Uprkos tome, porodična operacija je uspjela. Inine bilješke i uljezove fotografije koje dokazuju Monikinu kontroverznu infiltraciju se iskorištene da pritisnu Moniku i njenog nadređenog da napuste MID. Unutarnje protivljenje zataškavanju o Srebrenici je neutralizovano, a Monika je sumnjala da sam je ja odao.

U junu 1999. godine javljam se glavnom javnom tužiocu zbog lažnog izvještaja MID-a, koji je izdao ministar odbrane. Ministar smjenjuje direktora MID-a i zamjenika direktora samo dvije sedmice kasnije. Uprkos tome, ombudsman objavljuje ministrovu klevetu u svom onlajn izvještaju o slučaju i ne provjeravajući je. On ignoriše dokaze koje sam predočio, smatrajući da se nikakve intrige nisu dogodile i tako obmanjuje javnost.

Pokrenute su također i druge mjere da me ušutkaju. Ranije, Monika je naredila Jasperu da me prestane viđati – on je napisao svjedočenje o tome, postiđujući time MID. Primjer namještajke koja još više uzbunjuje se odnosi na poziv za posjetu Parizu. Službenik BVD-a me upozorava da, kako bi me stavili iza rešetaka, francuska vojna tajna služba DGSE mi priprema zamku, po nalogu MID-a. Plan je da mi smjeste trgovinu drogom u međunarodnom vozu.

Ništa od ovoga nije propisno razmotreno, čak ne ni poslije intervencije Njezinog veličanstva kraljice Beatrix nakon mog zahtjeva. Nacionalni interes je važniji od tvog, objašnjava mi moj kontakt u BVD-u.

Kako ga vrh vojske nastavlja obmanjivati, ministar odbrane odlučuje napustiti funkciju u aprilu 2002. godine. Nakon toga, cijela holandska vlada podnosi ostavku zbog genocida u Srebrenici. Komandant Holandske kraljevske vojske, general Ad van Baal također podnosi ostavku. Prikazan je na naslovnoj strani nacionalnog dnevnog lista i nosi nadimak ‘General zataškavanja’.

Genocid u Srebrenici i ozloglašena holandska rolna filma

Tokom rata u Bosni (1992–95) Ujedinjene Nacije su Srebrenicu proglasile sigurnom zonom za Bošnjake (Muslimane). Bataljonu holandske vojske pripala je uloga zaštite enklave. Ipak, grad su zauzele srpske trupe. Holanđani skoro da uopšte nisu pružali otpor.

Nakon pada Srebrenice, Srbi su deportovali sve Bošnjake iz enklave i ubili više od osam hiljada muslimanskih muškaraca i dječaka. Holandski vrhovni komandanti odgovorni za njihovu zaštitu bili su generali Hans Couzy i Ad Van Baal. Zloglasni film o Srebrenici prikazuje srpske ratne zločine, kao i holandske vojnike koji pomažu u deportaciji Bošnjaka. Holandska vojska je kasnije prikrila ove fotografije.

Uz njega je njegova voljena supruga; prepoznajem njeno preplašeno lice – to je Ina.

Van Baal je potajno rehabilitovan godinu dana kasnije, kada postaje glavni inspektor Oružanih snaga. U namjeri da vidim kakva osoba je general, izazivam Van Baala na njegovom novom poslu. Zahtijevam od njega da riješi ovu aferu, koja je započela naredbom da se ukrade iskaznica moje nadređene, i završila ušutkivanjem onih koji su kritikovali zataškavanje fotografija, zabilježenih od strane njegove trupe, a koje su dokaz predstojećeg srebreničkog genocida. U svom odgovoru, Van Baal izbjegava svoju odgovornost – kao što je to uradio u Srebrenici. On me upućuje na ministra odbrane, kojem sam poslao primjerak *Generala zataškavanja* prije zvaničnog izdanja, u martu 2014. godine.

Moj zaključak: Skrivanje dokaza ratnih zločina šteti međunarodnom pravu i vladavini zakona u našoj državi. Oružane snage su mi pristupile kako bih pisao obavještajne izvještaje i opisivao umiješane strane u konfliktu. U interesu države, ja ovime ispunjavam dužnost – spreman za službu!

U julu 2015. godine, udruženje 'Majke Srebrenice' iskoristilo je knjigu kao jedno od mnogih svjedočenja u prilog tužbi teškoj milijardu eura protiv Holandije, kako bi vratile svijest da naša vojska dijeli odgovornost za genocid nad njihovim muževima i sinovima, i skrivane fotografije to dokazuju.

Mjesec dana poslije, Van Baal tvrdi kako je *General zataškavanja* dijelom zasnovan na mašti, bez davanja ikakvog dokaza koji bi potvrdio te optužbe. Nikakvog dokaza nije bilo ni kada me je Monika tužila zbog klevete. Ipak, sudija – priznavajući da nije do kraja pročitao knjigu – zabranjuje je. I još izdaje zabranu objavljivanja. Meni je posljedično zabranjeno da više govorim o ovom državnom skandalu, dijelu svog vlastitog života, uz rizik kazne do 100.000 eura.

Nepokoleban, ulažem žalbu na presudu o cenzuri. Sa desetinom dokaza u svoju korist, dobijam slučaj po svim osnovama. Apelacioni sud u Hagu presuđuje da tačnost knjige nije upitna i potvrđuje njenu važnost za javnu debatu o Srebrenici. Kako je veliki publicitet često zaštita za zviždače, također je važno što je ova važna pobjeda za slobodu štampe objavljena širom svijeta.

U septembru 2016. godine, *General zataškavanja* je ponovo objavljen – ovoga puta sa novim poglavljima o mojoj potrazi za istinom i pravdom. Treće ažurirano izdanje će uslijediti u aprilu 2022., a prijevod na engleski u aprilu 2024.

Iz pravnih razloga, izmišljeno ime Monika je korišteno za špijuna regrutera. Kada je u pitanju moj bivši ljubavnik, ovde sam ga nazvao Jasper kako bih ga zaštitio. Za više informacija o knjizi pogledajte: generalzataskavanja.com.

Indiscreet spies, a malicious general and innocent civilians: *The Cover-up General* reads like an exciting spy novel. But it also serves as factual testimony how a Dutch cover-up operation entirely spun out of control. At stake: photos depicting Srebrenica war crimes. Notably, the book was banned, but this was revoked on appeal. All new developments are set out in this 2024 English-language edition.

‘Why such complex cover-up operations?’
AL JAZEERA

★★★★★ / ‘The secret services torn apart’
HEBBAN REVIEWS

‘Meticulously written and well documented’
JAN PRONK, former Minister

‘The accuracy of the book is not in doubt’
COURT OF APPEAL THE HAGUE

EDWIN GILTAY

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